

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Published under the sanction of the

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Series 4. Vol. XII., No.3. MAY & JUNE, 1892. CONTENTS. PAGE BRITISH EAST AFRICA AND THE MOMBASA RAILWAY-Letter from Committee BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY ... 124 Minute and Resolution BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY ... 125 Memoranda Nos. 2 and 3 126-129 THE POSITION IN UGANDA ... THE ABANDONMENT OF UGANDA131, 168 & 169 SLAVERY IN MANIPUR 133 BISHOP SMYTHIES ON THE SLAVE-TRADE 134 KIDNAPPING SLAVES IN ZANZIBAR... 135 THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRAFFIC-Memorial of ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to LORD SALISBURY 136 Opinions on the Traffic-Admiral ERSKINE 138 Sir HARRY PARKES ... 139 Ditto Sir ARTHUR GORDON 140 Parliamentary Debates Thereon ... 153-166 THE EAST AFRICAN RAILWAY 143 MOROCCO-Mr. D. MACKENZIE and Chambers of Commerce ... 144-147 THE VICTORIA-NYANZA RAILWAY (Map) Sir RICHARD TEMPLE ... 149-152 ENGLAND IN MOROCCO 152 PARLIAMENTARY-Polynesian Labour in Queensland 153-156 Gunboats for Lake Nyassa ... 157 Uganda 167 ... THE DISTURBANCES IN UGANDA 167 OBITUARY-Miss EMILY STURGE ... 170

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,

... 171-173

174 & 175

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES (Mr. F. C. BANKS) ...

THE POET WHITTIER-" The Wind of March"

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

H.R.H. The PRINCE of WALES.

PRESIDENT.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

ARTHUR PEASE, Esq.

EDMUND STURGE, Esq.

TREASURER.

JOSEPH ALLEN, Esq.

COMMITTEE.

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, Esq.
J. G. ALEXANDER, Esq., LL.B.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.
W. WILBERFORCE BAYNES, Esq.
G. BINYON, Esq.
J. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE, Esq.
SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, BART.
SYDNEY BUXTON, Esq., M.P.
JAMES CLARK, Esq.
J. V.CRAWFORD, Esq., late Consul in Cuba.
DR. R. N. CUST, F.R.G.S.
R. W. FELKIN, Esq., M.D., F.R.G.S.
SIR FREDERIC GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I.
HENRY GURNEY, Esq.
D. HACK, Esq.
EDWARD HARRISON, Esq.
JAMES HENDERSON, Esq.

CALEB R. KEMP, Esq.

JAMES LONG, Esq., M.A.

ALFRED E. PEASE, Esq., M.F.

ARNOLD PYE-SMITH, Esq.

FRANCIS RECKITT, Esq.

J. FYFE STEWART, Esq.

REV. R. WARDLAW THOMPSON,

DR. E. UNDERHILL.

REV. HORACE WALLER, F.R.G.S.

W. H. WARTON, Esq.

REV. J. O. WHITEHOUSE.

FREDERICK WHEELER, Esq.

REV. J. H. WILSON D.D.

W. H. WYLDE, Esq., C.M.G. (late of the

Foreign Office Slave-Trade Department).

REV. J. C. YARBOROUGH, Chislehurst.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

G. T. ABRINES, Esq., Tangier, Morocco. FRANK ALLEN, Esq., Alexandria. FRED. ARNOT, Esq., S.W. Africa. B. R. BALFOUR, Esq., Drogheda. Hon. H. A. BOVELL, LL.B., Barbadoes. Commander V. L. CAMERON, R.N., C.B. REV. H. CLARK, Jamaica. DR. DUTRIEUX BEY, Paris. PROF. H. DRUMMOND, F.R.S.E., Glasgow. EMIN PASHA, Equatorial Africa. WM. GALEA, Esq., British Vice-Consul, Sousse, Tunis.
WILLIAM HARVEY, Esq., Leeds. ROBERT DRUMMOND HAY, Esq., H.B.M. Consul-General, Tunis. H. H. JOHNSTON, C.B., H.B.M. Consul-General Mozambique, and Commissioner Nyassaland.
SENOR A. R. JURADO, London. HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LAVIGERIE. DR.F.L.de GUZMAN LOBO, Rio de Janeiro.

THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON MAPLES.

NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, Esq., C.M.G., H.B.M. Consul-General, Tripoli. WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq., Birmingham. G. MOYNIER, Esq., Geneva. Senhor Joaquim Nabuco, late Member of the Brazilian Parliament. J. A. PAYNE, Esq., Lagos, W. Africa. Senhor A. REBOUÇAS, Lisbon. DR. GERHARD ROHLFS, Weimar. DR. A. M. ROSS, Toronto. Rev. A. V. SCHELTEMA, Amsterdam. DR. G. SCHWEINFURTH, Cairo. Rev. LAWRENCE SCOTT, late of Nyassa. Don Luis Sorela, Spain. Joseph Thomson, Esq., Dumfries. M. Le Comte D'URSEL, Brussels. Rev. E. VANORDEN, Rio Grande do Sul. M. COURTOIS DE VIÇOSE, Toulouse. J. G. WHITTIER, Esq., U.S.A. Rev. J. WILLIAMS, Nyassa. LEONARD K. WILSON, Esq., Brussels. A. B. WYLDE, Esq., Suakin.

SECRETARY.

CHARLES H. ALLEN, F.R.G.S.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY: J. EASTOE TEALL.

FINANCIAL AND TRAVELLING AGENT: FREDK. C. BANKS.

Bankers: Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, Tritton & Co., 54, Lombard Street.

Offices: 55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

The Anti=Slavery Reporter.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

British East Africa and the Mombasa Railway.

IN our last number we called attention to the necessity that exists for connecting the Victoria-Nyanza district with the Coast, by means of a railway. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society took active measures to bring this question before the British Parliament, when the Government proposed to vote a moderate sum of money for the purpose of carrying out a survey of the country through which the railway must run. The Society is now endeavouring to raise public interest—upon purely Anti-Slavery grounds—in the larger question that must shortly arise as to the building of the railway itself; and with that view it has circulated the following documents amongst Parliamentary Candidates and other influential persons.

An important article upon this subject, with a map illustrating the route of the railway, will be found on another page of the present issue.

LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE.

SIR,—I am directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to bring under your notice the accompanying papers in support of the proposed railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria-Nyanza, without which it is practically impossible to bring the great and populous region of Uganda into touch with British interests.

This scheme, if carried into effect, in the opinion of my Committee and of those persons best able to judge, cannot fail to assist most materially in the suppression of Slave traffic, and in the abolition of the status of Slavery in the territories brought under the influence of the proposed railway, and if for this reason only, it is deserving of the cordial support, not only of this Society, but of every individual, whatever may be his political or religious belief, who has at heart the welfare and civilisation of the great African Continent.

But apart from these considerations, the scheme must recommend itself to all those who are interested in extending the commerce of this country, at a time when protective duties are closing so many markets to our manufacturers, and it is most desirable therefore that the public voice should demand at the coming Election that whatever party may be in power Her Majesty's Ministers should be called upon to further a measure so calculated, at a comparatively trifling cost, to advance the cause of humanity, civilisation, and commerce.

The great national interests involved in and around Uganda render it desirable that public interest and attention should be attracted to the important events now passing in Eastern and Equatorial Africa, which offer to this country the dominating position over the vast territories commanding the sources of the Nile.

But should the British public now hesitate to act with firmness and promptitude, doubtless other nations, who are waiting for our faltering, would take the opportunity to step in and occupy a position which would not only prove detrimental to the Imperial interests of this country, but would inevitably prolong the horrors of the Slave-trade.

As this appeal is entirely free from party or personal considerations, may I beg your attention to the enclosed papers, and invite your support of the very important subject when the opportunity offers of laying it prominently before the voters at the coming General Election.

On behalf of the Committee,
I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
CHAS. H. ALLEN,
Secretary.

The Mombasa Railway.

(Enclosures forwarded with foregoing letter-No. 1.)

Copy of a Minute of the Committee of the British and Foreign ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, adopted unanimously at their Meeting on June 3rd, 1892.

A YEAR has now passed since the Marquis of Salisbury, on receiving the freedom of the City of Glasgow, availed himself of the occasion for an announcement of an emphatic approval of the scheme for this railway, and also his belief in the very important and beneficent results which would follow its He concluded with these words:construction.

"The Brussels Conference on the Slave-trade will, I believe, be a very great social and philanthropic event in the history of Europe. Resolutions have been come to by the Powers concerned, binding them to certain measures for arresting the progress of Slaves across any European territory of which they are in possession, and therefore under that Conference we are bound to do our utmost to prevent the passage of Slaves across the territory that we have undertaken. We now spend large sums on ships and boats to arrest this accursed traffic, with considerable success, but also at great cost, not only to the Treasury at home, but also to the lives and health of the sailors, who under that sun have to give themselves to that tremendous labour. (Cheers.) If we are able, instead of taking this expensive and difficult precaution—if we are able to pursue the evil to its home and kill it at its root, we shall not only have saved mankind from a fearful curse, but we shall have spared the treasury of our own people and the lives of the gallant sailors who gave themselves to this work." this work."

Such views are in entire accord with those which have been long held by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and it is a policy which they are prepared to commend to the country for its support, and to that of any Government which may possibly succeed the present. An eminent Indian Administrator has lately given the subject his special examination, and considers that an Imperial Guarantee, not exceeding £70,000 per annum would, to a large extent, render needless a service so costly in lives and treasure as has been described. The working classes of England have, perhaps, the strongest interest in the adoption of such a policy by the British Government, inasmuch as it opens up new markets for English manufactures of unlimited extent, and with this special feature, that they will be in no danger of being met by those hostile protective duties which now confront them in most of the Colonies.

Resolved therefore:-

"That in view of the Declaration of the Powers contained in Section 3 of Article I. of the General Act of the Brussels Conference, respecting the construction of roads and railways between the coast and the inland waters of Africa, the construction of a line of railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria claims the earnest support of the British and Foreign Anti-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"That as it would be impossible to carry out this undertaking without a guarantee by the British Government for a specified period of the interest upon the Capital required, this Society is prepared to support such policy upon the part of the Government, provided that in the construction and working of such line no means be employed which would be opposed to the fundamental principles of the Society.

"That in any popular lectures undertaken by the Society the subject of the Mombasa Railway and similar undertakings should hold a prominent position, and be advocated upon Anti-Slavery grounds."

MEMORANDUM. (No. 2.)

By becoming a party to the General Act of the Brussels Conference, Great Britain has, along with the other signatory Powers having possessions or protectorates in Africa, pledged herself, in order to put "an end to the crimes and devastations engendered by the traffic in African Slaves, to protect effectively the aboriginal populations in Africa, and to insure for that vast continent the benefits of peace and civilisation."

The Powers, amongst other things, declared (Chapter I., Article I.) the following to be "the most effective means for counteracting the Slave-trade in the interior of Africa":-

To establish stations in the interior for protective and repressive action.

To construct roads, and, in particular, railways.

To establish telegraph lines within the countries, subject to her control.

To restrict the importation of fire-arms and ammunition, and to tax or, under certain conditions, to prohibit the sale of spirits where that trade does not now exist.

Article IV. of the General Act provides that the various Powers may "delegate to Companies provided with Charters all or a portion of the engagements which they have assumed, the States themselves remaining responsible for the due execution of their engagements."

WHAT EUROPEAN STATES ARE DOING.

On the failure of the German East African Company to establish its administration on the East Coast, the Imperial German Government intervened, and have, it is believed, incurred an expenditure of over £1,000,000 in their attempt to settle the country, thus to prepare the way for drawing the trade to German ports. Their expenditure continues on a large scale, and they have granted a subsidy of £45,000 a year for a mail steam service from Hamburg to East Africa, and £5,000 for a telegraph cable from Zanzibar to the mainland. They are also understood to have arranged to give a subsidy of £25,000 a year for a line of direct steamers between Bombay and East Africa. They have authorised and assisted the German Company, which otherwise could not have continued its operation, to raise a loan of £500,000 by giving it a subsidy equal to 5 per cent. on this amount, to enable it to raise the loan, and out of it to pay £200,000, the estimated capitalised value of the Customs rent payable to the Sultan of Zanzibar. By this Government-aided arrangement alone the German Company has been enabled to effect a saving, equal, it is believed, to about £40,000 a year, besides freeing itself for ever from the suzerainty of the Sultan. This advantage is one which, by its concession, the Imperial British East Africa Company was entitled to claim, but from which it has for the present been debarred by political exigencies. In addition to the great support given by the German Government to their Company, and the large Imperial expenditure incurred in occupying the country, the German Government are also about to spend large sums in making railways through their territories inland from the Coast, preparatory to reaching the Great Lakes.

ITALY.

The Italian Government have guaranteed to the Royal Italian Company 6 per cent. on a capital of £800,000.

BELGIUM.

The Belgian Government, in addition to large initial grants, now contribute £80,000 a year towards the administration expenses of the Congo Free State. They have also subscribed £400,000 of the capital required (£1,000,000) to construct the Congo State Railway, conceding to the subscribers of the remaining £600,000 a preference dividend of 7 per cent., and claiming for themselves only a maximum dividend of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. after this 7 per cent. has been paid.

THE CAPE.

The Cape Government have provided means for the construction of a railway required to extend the authority of the British South Africa Company in its territories. In 1885 Her Majesty's Government advanced the Cape Government £400,000 for railway purposes on Imperial grounds; while PORTUGAL

Has established a regular mail service to her colonies.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In the sphere assigned to Great Britain in the regions of Eastern Equatorial Africa, where the Slave-trade is prevalent, Great Britain has as yet done nothing in discharge of her duties under the Brussels Act. Her co-operation and assistance are nevertheless indispensable to the fulfilment of her obligations. The functions assigned to the Company by Royal Charter, as well as the progress it has made in the administration of the country, point to its agency as being immediately available for this purpose. The Company has provided steamers for coastal service, a steamer for the navigation of either the Tana or the Juba River, and another is ready to be despatched for transport and rebuilding at the Lake (about £20,000); it has greatly improved the important harbour of Mombasa, and also laid out large sums in building, &c., and in laying a tramway across the island. The coast

ports are being connected by a telegraphic line; a trade route, protected at frequent intervals by stockaded stations, has been opened for 300 miles into the interior; the construction of a light railway, starting from Mombasa, has been commenced, and eight to ten miles completed, and, although this has been suspended, sixty miles of materials, and the necessary rolling stock, are already there; the country has been explored, and friendly treaty relations established with the natives as far as Usaga and Uganda, and onwards to the Albert Edward Lake (where the Company has secured the salt supply) and Ruwenzori, where a fort has been built; and the Company has also already secured the freedom of over 4,000 Slaves.

The shareholders of the Imperial British East Africa Company are thus, without any public aid, bearing the expense of works of national importance, to which the nation is pledged by the Act of the Brussels Conference, and it is desired that the various Chambers of Commerce should, upon national grounds, give their support to obtain the assistance of Her Majesty's Government, in the form of a guarantee of 3 per cent. interest on the cost of construction (estimated at about two millions) of a railway from the coast to the great lakes, in order to extinguish the Slave-trade and open up this vast country, including the Nile Valley to Khartoum, to civilisation and British trade. By thus affording efficient means of transport the suppression of the Slave-trade can be effectually accomplished, inasmuch as it is mostly for purposes of porterage and by means of the trading caravans that the people of that distant country are captured and forced into Slavery.

Fune, 1892.

MEMORANDUM ON UGANDA. (No. 3.)

In July, 1877, the first British Protestant missionaries, members of the Church Missionary Society, entered Uganda, and on the 22nd February, 1879, two French Roman Catholic priests arrived in the country.

In September, 1888, a coalition of the Christian and Mohammedan "readers" of Uganda (as converts from Paganism were styled), dethroned and expelled the tyrant M'wanga, who had murdered Bishop Hannington, and was plotting the destruction of both sects of the Christian Missions and their followers. Afterwards, when a fugitive, M'wanga was received by the French priests at the south end of the lake, professed himself a Roman Catholic, and has since been completely under their influence. Meantime, two other revolutions had occurred in Uganda, by the first of which the Mohammedans expelled the Christians from their offices, and drove all the missionaries from the country; and by the second, M'wanga's brother Kuvewa, who had succeeded him, was deposed for refusing to become a Mohammedan.

In 1889, by the assistance of the converts to Christianity, M'WANGA succeeded in recovering his kingdom, and the British and French missionaries returned. But the King continued under the absolute control of the French priests, a control made more secure by the fears constantly instilled into him

that the British desired to bring him to punishment for the murder of Bishop Hannington.

In the spring of 1890, when Mr. F. J. Jackson, of the Imperial British East Africa Company, was invited by the King to enter Uganda and give him the support of the Company's forces, he found M'wanga so completely a puppet of the French priests that it was impossible to treat with him as a free agent. In order to be satisfied as to the European power, under whose influence Uganda was to come, M'wanga and the Roman Catholics sent Ambassadors to the coast with Mr. Jackson to see the British, French, and German Consul-Generals at Zanzibar, Mr. Gedge remaining as the Company's representative in Uganda.

On July 1st, 1890, the Anglo-German agreement definitely assigned Uganda to the sphere of British influence.

In December of the same year Captain Lugard arrived, and assumed charge from Mr. Gedge, and in the efforts he has continued to make for the pacification and security of the country he has had uniformly to contend with the opposition of the French priests, whose hostility to British influence, and whose exertions to obtain political supremacy, have never abated, notwithstanding the assurance, carried back by the ambassadors on their return from Zanzibar, that Uganda was recognised to lie within the sphere of British influence. This news confirmed the information already received in Uganda from Emin Pasha, as representative of the German Government.

When Mr. Jackson, the first representative of the Company to Uganda, appeared before the King, the French priests, and the Roman Catholic chiefs, to make known the policy of the Company, he expressly declared that it would, as regarded religious sects, be a policy of strict impartiality. "I explained to them again and again," he reported, "that the Company would treat all parties alike, and make no distinction between Roman Catholics, Protestants, Heathens, or Mohammedans."

This assurance of the Company's intentions was soon afterwards strikingly confirmed from another quarter, which ought to have carried great weight. The SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR and the leading Arabs at the coast, who had experience of the Company's dealings in such matters, wrote to the chiefs of their Mohammedan co-religionists in Uganda, counselling them to place the fullest confidence in the Company. The Mohammedans appear to have done so; the Roman Catholic party, under the guidance of the French priests, alone refused to follow the general example. The evidence is abundant that this refusal was not due to religious apprehensions, but to the ambition of the French party to obtain political supremacy.

The result of such supremacy would be to oust the British from the control of the territories commanding the navigation of the Upper Nile, a control which may prove an important factor in the future destinies of Egypt.

The French priests in entering Uganda, in 1879, intruded themselves upon ground already occupied by British missionaries, when ample fields existed for them elsewhere, and the best means, perhaps, of avoiding similar scandals and calamities in future, would be to restrict the missionaries of each religion to exclusive spheres of labour.

The Position in Uganda.

(From the Daily News).

CAIRO, 15th June, 1892.

"I have been able to gather the following summary of events in Central Africa from the Egyptian refugees who have returned here from Uganda. After Mr. Stanley left Equatoria, Selim Bey remained to collect the scattered forces in the province, but, failing to reach Mr. Stanley, was compelled to stay at Mswa. Here he was imprisoned, but afterwards released. He then went to Kavalli's, close to the Albert Nyanza, and established a settlement there. He was eventually joined by ten thousand followers. In April, 1891, Emin Pasha arrived at Kavalli's and asked Selim to join him; but, on learning that Emin had taken service under the Germans, Selim declined. Shortly afterwards Captain Lugard appeared. He asked Selim to join the East Africa Company; but Selim, being an Egyptian servant, demurred. On Captain Lugard promising to communicate with the Egyptian Government, however, he eventually yielded, and the whole force went to Kabarega and thence to the Albert Edward Nyanza, to establish military posts in various districts, garrisoning them with Selim's men.

"Captain LUGARD and SELIM BEY then journeyed to MWANGA'S, in Uganda, where Captain WILLIAMS was in command, and the British flag flying. Captain LUGARD visited the King, by whom he was cordially received. Two days later a trifling bazaar quarrel occurred, which Captain WILLIAMS suppressed. This, it appears, led to disturbances, and the reported fighting ensued. The King was repulsed, and fled to Lake Victoria, taking all the

boats with him.

"Captain WILLIAMS and Captain LUGARD showed every consideration to the Catholics, and sheltered the missionaries in the fort. MWANGA's retreat interrupted communication with Mombasa. He captured a caravan conveying goods to Captain WILLIAMS, killing the entire escort of sixty blacks.

"The refugees consider that Captain LUGARD is able to withstand any

attack that might be made upon him."

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

CAIRO, June 14.

A party of refugees from the Equatorial provinces, comprising twenty-one officers and non-commissioned officers, who left Egypt either with BAKER PASHA or General GORDON, has arrived here. They state that, with the exception of the force under FADLMAULA, the Bey who refused to join the loyal troops under Selim, because he feared punishment for being the head mutineer against Emin in 1889, and who is still at Wadelai with 400 men armed with rifles, ammunition, and two mountain guns, the whole of the Egyptian troops have now evacuated Equatoria. The majority of them have taken service under the British Company. Equatoria, with the exception of Wadelai, they declare, now appears to be ruled by a party of Dervishes at Rejaf, who have been cut off from the next Dervish post at Fashoda, owing to a revolt of the Sellut and Dinka tribes. The British East Africa Company, the refugees state, has thus acquired a force of a thousand soldiers, well armed and provided with ammunition, which, in their opinion, would enable the Company to firmly establish itself in Unyoro and Uganda.

The Abandonment of Uganda.

(By permission from "THE TIMES," June 13, 1892.)

THE order has been sent out by the British East Africa Company that Uganda is to be abandoned. It may by this time have reached the coast and be on its way to the interior. But, if the state of things in Uganda is what the Company fears, it may be impossible to convey this order to Captain Lugard and his companions, who have been struggling so bravely for months past to maintain British prestige and establish British interests. They have been doing their best to assert the rights acknowledged under the Anglo-German Agreement, and to prevent the establishment of a priestly reign of terror in one of the fairest regions of Central Africa. It is believed that the Young Nile, which separates Uganda from Usogo, and across which lies the route to Mombasa and the coast, is in the hands of the party hostile to British influence, and that all Captain LUGARD's despatches have been intercepted. It is certain that the officials of the Company have done their best to obtain authentic news from Uganda, but have failed, simply because the road is blocked. Happily, help of an effective, if only of a temporary, kind is on the way to Captain Lugard and his friends, and any day we may hear the story of another thrilling episode in the history of British enterprise in Africa-an episode which, let us hope and pray, will not have an ending even more tragic than that of Khartoum.

The Company's decision will cause profound regret. But it would be idle to condemn it off-hand. It will probably lead to better results if we look our position in East Africa calmly in the face, and endeavour to make up our minds who is responsible, and what ought to be done for the honour of England, the welfare of Central Africa, and the interests of British commercial enterprise. When, early in 1885, LORD GRANVILLE, then Foreign Minister, informed PRINCE BISMARCK that a company of British capitalists had their eye on the region between the East Coast and Lake Victoria with a view to constructing a railway, and that, therefore, Great Britain desired to secure a share of this part of Africa, LORD GRANVILLE had the country at his back. When, in 1886, an agreement was made between Great Britain and Germany that a line from the East Coast to the shore of the Lake would divide the German and the British spheres, everybody thought we were over-complacent to Germany, but there was general satisfaction that, in spite of blundering, we had been able to secure a fair part of the coast for our share and unimpeded access to the rich countries around the great lakes and in the region of the Upper Nile. By the subsequent agreement of 1890, all remaining obstacles to enterprise in the interior were removed. Meantime, the British capitalists referred to (the British East Africa Association) had set to work and concluded agreements (1887) with the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and a great number of native chiefs in the interior. On the basis of these, in 1888, the Association obtained a Royal Charter constituting the capitalists into the Imperial British East Africa Company. The charter authorised the Company to administer, preserve order in, and develop those territories which at the time had been conceded to them, as well as other territories which they might acquire legitimately. Whatever fresh step the Company took was to be taken with the approval of Her Majesty's Secretary of State. By the Anglo-German agreement the sphere in which the Company might work was immensely extended, so as to include the whole of Uganda and all the regions extending north and west to Darfur. By this and other agreements the British Government made itself responsible for the occupation of the territories dealt with within reasonable time. This task is virtually delegated to the

British East Africa Company, which with laudable enterprise lost no time in pushing into the interior, making roads, establishing stations, and generally extending its influence. Through its agent, Captain LUGARD, it has not only occupied Uganda, but pushed its stations as far west as Mount Ruwenzori. When Mr. Jackson and Mr. GEDGE, and after them Captain LUGARD, entered Uganda, they found the country in a state of anarchy. Immediately after Mr. STANLEY, fifteen years ago, wrote home pointing out what a splendid field for missionary enterprise was to be found in Uganda the Church Missionary Society lost no time in sending out pioneers. After the Protestants had been at work for some time, the Roman Catholics invaded their field. From the first, these French missionaries aimed at monopolising supreme power in Uganda, to the exclusion not only of their Protestant rivals but of British influence entirely. There is evidence enough that Cardinal LAVIGERIE and his friends did their utmost to attain this end, whether on behalf of France or on behalf of "the Church" does not matter. With what admirable tact and ability Captain LUGARD faced the situation has been amply shown in The Times already. It may very well be that the "French" party, as the priests called themselves, saw their influence slipping from their hands, and made a last desperate attempt to retrieve it by force. The partisan and untrustworthy reports that have come to hand show how critical the situation of Captain LUGARD and the other representatives of British power must have been, but permit us to infer that he and his followers have been successful. Even if this is so, they must still be in the most dangerous plight. It seems evident that the followers of the Catholic missionaries, the French party, far outnumber the Protestants; and, even if Captain Lugard and his little band are at present masters of the situation, they cannot remain so without immediate support. Every day is of importance.

The Company declare that their funds are exhausted. They were never able to raise more than about half a million of capital. They have been at work for nearly four years, sending out expeditions, maintaining a staff of officials, planting stations, and otherwise doing what they considered best for the development of the territories which the British Government committed to their care. There has been continued outlay, with no revenue to speak of. Three years ago the Government promised to give the Company power to impose taxes, as is done in Nyassaland, the Niger, the Oil Rivers, Bechuanaland, and other regions more or less directly within the British sphere; but they have not seen their way to carry out that promise. It is obvious that, in order to lend Captain Lugard effective support to maintain his position in Uganda and the extensive region to the west and north-west, an outlay will be required much larger than a company earning no revenue can continue to command. The Company declare that the public decline to come forward to increase the capital. They are now in a position only to occupy stations on or within an easy distance of the coast and carry on trading operations. It may be said that LORD SALISBURY advanced the funds for the railway survey, to be followed, it is hoped, by funds for the railway, on condition that the Company would occupy and develop the countries around the lakes. But the Company say that the railway is not theirs; it is the Government's, and that even if it were made they could only use it as traders; they have no funds to maintain a military and administrative staff at Uganda and the neighbouring regions. It must be admitted that this is not the view of the case taken by the public. But that is a point which the Government must settle with the Company.

If, then, the Company withdraw from Uganda, what is to be done? It is terrible to contemplate what would happen if the small but restraining British force were

withdrawn. We should probably have another Khartoum added to the history of our interference in African affairs. Are the Company bound by the terms of their charter to maintain their position in Uganda? If Her Majesty's advisers are of opinion that this is the case, then their course is clear. But the point is one that is not so easy to decide as it seems. At all events, if Uganda is abandoned, and if the British Government does nothing to maintain an effective occupation of the sphere allotted to England in this part of Africa, then, by the Berlin Act, it is open to another Power to step in and take possession. This was our excuse for occupying Mashonaland and Nyassaland. We made enormous exertions; we submitted to humiliations; we sacrificed Heligoland to retain possession of the regions which the Imperial British East Africa Company now talk of abandoning. Such a question as this is beyond the sphere of party politics. To whatever party the Foreign Minister may belong, the country would support him in taking steps to prevent what would be a discredit to England and a serious loss to the Empire. Though the cost of supporting Captain LUGARD is more than the Company can bear, it would be a trifle to the Imperial Treasury. Even should it be one of the last acts of Her Majesty's present advisers to take the necessary steps to maintain our position in Uganda, it would be one which they could always refer to with satisfaction. The German Government was compelled to interfere in the section of East Africa belonging to Germany; under the Company it was in danger of reverting to anarchy. The common testimony of all Englishmen is that the result of this interference has been complete success; German East Africa is on the highway to prosperity; peace and settled industry begin to prevail everywhere. While, then, it is yet time, let LORD SALISBURY use his own judgment, and employ the powers which he has under the British Company's charter. We say nothing for or against the conduct of the Company; they have had a difficult part to play. What we are concerned for is the honour of England, the lives of brave British soldiers, the well-being of that part of Central Africa for which we have made ourselves responsible, and the future of British commerce in Africa. France threatens to creep into the Central Soudan. We have pointed out on various occasions recently that the King of the Belgians is ambitious of gaining a footing on the Upper Nile, and France is heir to his possessions in Africa. France, again, is rapidly pushing her way up from Obock towards Abyssinia, from which she is ousting the influence of Italy. We have need, therefore, on many grounds, to be watchful of our position in Uganda and the Lake region generally. How this watchfulness is to be exercised it is for LORD SALISBURY to settle with the British East Africa Company. Captain LUGARD has shown that we have within our grasp a region well worth keeping, which it would cost but a trifle to retain. A Commissioner was appointed to British East Africa at the same time as Mr. Johnston was appointed to Nyassaland, and Major MacDonald to the Oil Rivers. Why has he never entered upon his post?

Slavery in Manipur.

THE Political Agent, Major MAXWELL, in an address to the new Rajah of Manipur, urged the gradual abolition of Slavery in the following terms, but we think the immediate abolition of the legal status of Slavery would be more in accord with the former policy of England in India. He said: "The next measure would be the gradual abolition of Slavery, the sale of minors being prohibited from this date, and all Slaves being redeemed in five years' time."

Bisbop Smythies on the Slave-Trade.

At the recent annual meeting of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Bishop Smythies, in the course of his address, thus referred to the Slave-trade in Africa:—

But I wish it to be known as widely as possible that since the German Government has taken East Africa under its supervision great benefit has, in my opinion, accrued to the country, and personally we cannot speak too warmly of the kindness we have received from German officials. Always when I have gone to the coast I have been most hospitably entertained by the officials of the Imperial Government there. To show the kindness and confidence with which we are treated, I may mention that Baron Von Soden, though he had made, naturally, a law that anyone who flies a flag should fly the German flag, told Mr. WOODWARD, at Magilas that he might fly what flag he liked. We should probably only fly a Mission flag, with a cross on it, to be hoisted on Sundays as a reminder of the day. Lately, I had unfortunately to write to him about a certain report of cruelty on the part of an official. He might have considered that I was a meddling ecclesiastic and have turned a deaf ear to what I wrote, but he wrote a very sympathetic letter promising to make every inquiry, and adding that if what was stated was to be believed, he fully shared my indignation at the conduct of the official in question. Last March, when I was at Newala, a wild and savage tribe in the neighbourhood had been committing outrages on people who went down to fish in the Rovuma, cutting off their hands, robbing some, and carrying off others to be sold as Slaves. Many of the small chiefs round wished to call in the Magwang ara, the robber tribe of the country, to help them—a most immoral and suicidal thing to do. Our chief, MATOLA, wrote to the German officer at Lindi for his advice. In a few days he came up with a hundred Soudanese soldiers, called the people together, heard their grievances, arranged a conference with the marauders, persuaded them to give back the people they had stolen, and went back, after having pacified the country, without anyone being able justly to complain of any oppression or violence. The soldiers were well paid, and paid well for all the food they required. Such action as this would leave a sense of security and protection in the country such as had never been felt before. In my letter to Baron Von Soden I told him that when I had the opportunity it was with real pleasure that I should tell my fellow-countrymen of the kindness I had received from him and his officials. The chief officer at Lindi told me that in the last resort if any Slave refused to go back to his master it was against his conscience to compel him to go back into Slavery. This is the first time I have heard such language on the part of an official. I do not say that all the German officials take that line, but they do go so far as to say that no Arab is at liberty to punish his Slave, but that punishment, if necessary, must be inflicted by the authorities. I see that the governor at Lindi recently hanged seventeen Arabs for holding a Slave-market, and no doubt they deserved it. I expect it was a case of "As thy sword hath made mothers childless, so shall thy mother be childless among men." Do not think that this terrible evil of Slavery is past, that there is no devastation of fair provinces, no selling into Slavery, no seizing of men, women, and children; but the truth is that it is still going on. I was travelling with a French missionary for Lake Tanganyika, and he said to me, "I have seen fair lands devastated and made a scene of rapine and murder, so that the people about us say, 'What is the use of cultivating land when the Arabs are continually raiding and

carrying off our people into Slavery?'" How can it be otherwise? The Arabs say, "Slavery is our living. We cannot work without Slaves; and if we cannot have Slavery we shall be swept off the face of the earth." As long as the Arabs have power in Africa there will be the terrible evil of Slavery, with all its accompanying cruelty and crime.

kidnapping of Slaves in Zanzibar.

THE Morning Post, of the 19th May, prints the following startling intelligence from the columns of the journal recently established in the Island of Zanzibar. We trust that the publication in England of this intelligence will tend to awaken the vigilance of the authorities, and that we shall hear of no more Slave-trading from an island which is under the protection of the British Crown.

The official Gazette of Zanzibar, for April 20th, contains an announcement which is suggestive of reflection. It appears that the boats of Her Majesty's ship Philomel were keeping watch on the harbour, on the evening of the 16th of April, at the quarter called Mlindi, where dhows generally load, and about 8.30 a dhow was seen putting out to sea. The vessel was promptly boarded by Lieutenant GRENFELL, and was found to contain twenty-two Slaves, chiefly women and children; the dhow was bound for Muscat. From inquiries it was found that the Slaves had been kidnapped in Zanzibar, the children had been forcibly carried off by members of the Arab crew, either when playing on the beach or selling fruit about the town. The women had been decoyed to the Arabs' houses, in some instances, by being paid to carry goods into the town. One woman had a baby with her; the children seemed very intelligent, and the women were strong and healthy-looking, although the dhow voyage to Muscat, with its attendant miseries, would have diminished their numbers and changed their condition had they been left to undergo it. The capture is described in the Gazette as being "the more fortunate from the fact that the Slaves were not strangers just brought down from the interior, but women and children having homes and occupation in Zanzibar."

The incident throws a light upon the state of affairs in Zanzibar which is far from pleasant. There is no blinking the fact that under a purely British Administration, and almost beneath the windows of the British Consulate, men, women and children, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and living under the protection of the British Crown are kidnapped and dragged away into Slavery in broad daylight. The recrudescence of this atrocious practice, which had been effectually stamped out under the strong rule of Sir John Kirk and Sultan Barghash, is not, it is to be trusted, to be regarded as a commentary on the accession of British authority in Zanzibar. It is satisfactory to be assured, as the Gazette assures us, that "the Consul-General is insisting upon a very severe punishment being inflicted upon the crew, as the case is a most flagrant one. Amongst the Slaves kidnapped were many free men and one of the Sultan's own Slaves." The whole affair is much to be regretted, and it is to the vigilance of the officers and men of Her Majesty's ship Philomel, and to that alone, that these poor subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar owe their delivery from the dhow of the kidnappers, and their restoration to their homes and freedom.

THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRAFFIC.

The proposed continuation of licenses for the introduction of Polynesian labourers into Queensland having been sanctioned by the Prime Minister of that Colony, Sir Samuel Griffiths, in the interests of sugar planters, a very considerable amount of discussion upon this subject has lately taken place in both Houses of the British Parliament. This form of servile labour having been strongly opposed by the Anti-Slavery Society ever since its introduction, before 1868, that Society has felt constrained to address a Memorial to Lord Salisbury, praying Her Majesty's Government to withhold the Imperial sanction from any continuance of this kind of labour in Queensland.

For future reference, and for the information of our readers, we print herewith not only this Memorial, but several other letters which have appeared in the public press, although we do not commit ourselves to full approval of everything that has been said in these letters.

Under the head of our usual Parliamentary intelligence further information respecting the Queensland Labour Traffic will be found.

Memorial to Lord Salisbury.

"British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

"55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,

"Fune 3, 1892.

"To the Right Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., P.C., Her Majesty's Prime Minister and Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"My Lord,—The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has seen with deep concern the projected renewal of licenses for the importation of Polynesian labour into Queensland—a system which (besides the undoubted atrocities with which it has been accompanied) has been shown to be productive of a very serious rate of mortality amongst those islanders who labour in Queensland, even when no exception can be taken to the treatment they receive at the hands of the planters.

"The subject of the importation of South Sea Islanders into Queensland has claimed the attention of this Society since the introduction of the system, now nearly thirty years ago, and a Memorial protesting against the traffic was presented by the Committee to His Grace the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS in March, 1868. In spite of the stringent regulations for the traffic demanded by EARL GRANVILLE, in 1870, failing which he stated that 'the trade must be suppressed,' the Society felt itself obliged, in consequence of the constant appeals made to it by witnesses of the horrors accompanying the traffic between Queensland and the South Seas, to make further efforts to obtain its abolition. In April, 1871, a Deputation from the Society waited upon the Marquis of Normanby, the recently-appointed Governor of Queensland, and presented an address against the Polynesian traffic, in reply to which his Excellency stated that 'he would be no party to anything akin to Slavery or the Slave-trade.'

"Again, in 1872, a joint Deputation from the Anti-Slavery, Missionary, and other Societies waited upon LORD KIMBERLEY to urge that immediate and energetic measures should be taken to stop the kidnapping of Polynesian labourers, which resulted in the passing of an Act by the British Parliament for that purpose. Notwithstanding the passing of this Act, the abuses of the system became so flagrant that the Society was again obliged to memorialise the Colonial Office, in February, 1873, against 'the Slave-trade carried on in the South Seas, under the license of the British flag.'

"It may be in the recollection of your Lordship that, in the amending Act of 1875 of the British Parliament, a High Commissioner was created, with full powers over British subjects within the islands of the Pacific, and regulations for dealing with the Polynesian traffic were included in the Orders in Council of 1877 and 1879, but that these regulations were disregarded was clearly shown by the report of the Royal Commission which sat in 1885.

"It was with feelings of satisfaction that the Society received the announcement that Sir Samuel Griffith, the Prime Minister of Queensland, had determined to suspend the issue of licenses for Kanaka labour after the close of the year 1890; and it now learns with dismay that the Queensland Premier has reversed his former humane decision, and that the traffic has been renewed.

"The experience of a long series of years has incontestably shown that every effort on the part of the Imperial Government to regulate the Polynesian traffic with Queensland has entirely failed to prevent the continuance of a system of fraud, outrage, and murder.

"Therefore the Society cannot but feel that any regulations imposed by the Queensland Government upon this traffic, however well intended, must inevitably fail in the accomplishment of their object, more especially as it would be impossible to provide trustworthy Government agents, sufficiently conversant with the twenty or more languages spoken in the islands from which labourers are recruited, to insure the due carrying out of the provisions of the Act. "The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society must therefore maintain that, whilst the provisions of the Pacific Islanders' Protection Acts confer very extensive powers on Her Majesty's Government for controlling the abuses of the Polynesian traffic, the effectual carrying out of that control will become almost impossible should Her Majesty's Government give its sanction to the recent Act of the Queensland Legislature for continuing the importation of Polynesian Islanders.

"The Committee would therefore, true to the policy carried out by the Society for the last thirty years with regard to the South Sea labour traffic, respectfully, but earnestly, urge upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of withholding the Imperial sanction from any continuance of

Kanaka labour in Queensland.

"On behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

"CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secretary."

Opinions on the Polynesian Labour Traffic.

ADMIRAL ERSKINE.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES."

SIR,—As one intimately acquainted with the Polynesian labour traffic in all its bearings, I have learnt, with great regret, that it is the intention of the Queensland Government to revive the importation of Kanaka labour, and, having been the mouthpiece by which Her Majesty's Government proclaimed the Protectorate over a portion of New Guinea, in 1884, and having been on the spot and instrumental in bringing to light the atrocities committed by the *Hopeful* and other vessels engaged in the labour traffic, I have read with sorrow and dismay the official answers which have been recently given in both Houses of Parliament to questions on that subject.

Three years' experience in command of the Australian squadron impressed upon me two important facts—viz., firstly, that, even under the most stringent regulations, wrongs and abuses occurred in connection with the labour traffic which invariably led to bloodshed and accompanying complications and reprisals; secondly, with regard to the natives of New Guinea in particular, that two of their chief characteristics were (1) intense love of their country, and (2) objection to and unfitness for continuous manual labour. If the terms of the Protectorate which I had the honour to promulgate meant anything, it was then declared that the natives of New Guinea should not be taken from their country and compelled, under arrangements and contracts which they cannot possibly understand, to labour continuously for three years on Queensland plantations.

It seems to me to be inconsistent with ordinary ideas of justice and humanity for Great Britain, who has promised to protect these unfortunate natives and who has since placed them under her sovereignty, to divest herself of any part of her responsibility and to allow the destinies of New Guinea to be controlled by the colony of Queensland by permitting her to revive a traffic which under the most stringent

and carefully devised regulations is certain to bring misery and wrong to those who were placed under Her Majesty's protection.

Assuming that the treatment of the Polynesian labourers in Queensland has been open to no objection, the facts still remain that during the year of recruiting from New Guinea the death-rate was 17'2 per cent., and numbers of the unfortunate natives preferred to take the chances involved in endeavouring to reach their country in open boats from distant Queensland ports rather than continue their so-called engagements.

If, therefore, my premises are correct (and I appeal for corroboration of my views to those of my brother officers who have held the position of commodore or commanded ships on the Australian Station, to Bishop Selwyn, Messrs. Lawes and Chalmers, and others acquainted with the subject), the most humane treatment on the plantations, and the most carefully devised regulations for the conduct of the labour traffic, will not prevent the wrongs and evils which I have ventured to point out from being committed.

On the eve of the Russian war, when ships were fitted out for the Baltic, and there was a great scarcity of seamen, the commander of a certain line-of-battle ship announced to his captain, one morning, that a large number of men were on board the *Victory*, waiting for distribution among the fleet. The captain reminded the commander that before sending in the requisition for the men it would be necessary for them to volunteer for the particular ship. "I'll soon make them volunteer" was the prompt but somewhat despotic reply of the commander.

It will, of course, be said that the natives of New Guinea enlist of their own free will and accord, but I fear their engagements will be undertaken much after this fashion.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES E. ERSKINE, Vice-Admiral.

The Rectory, Marston Biggott, Frome.

-The Times, 21st May, 1892.

SIR HENRY PARKES.

THE opinion of the former Prime Minister of New South Wales on the Queensland Polynesian labour traffic, shews incontestably that this form of servile labour does not find favour in the sister Colony, although that Colony is itself interested in the Sugar industry, and the views of Sir Henry Parkes are strongly supported by the letter from Sir Arthur Gordon, late Governor of Fiji, which will be found on the next page.

A letter has been sent to the Australian papers by Sir Henry Parkes on the Kanaka question. Sir Henry characterises Mr. Playford's proposed inter-colonial conference as a surprising development of Australian democratic institutions. He thinks that if the Chinese are barred out, the Kanakas should also be excluded, and he points out the electoral disadvantage of the presence of a class of men who are virtually Slaves. The scheme of Kanaka and coolie traffic suggested, Sir Henry brands as worse than the former subjection of the blacks in America, which, at least, did not shut out women.

SIR ARTHUR GORDON.

To the Editor of "THE TIMES."

SIR,—The letter of Sir James Garrick, contained in your issue of the 16th May, is, I believe, very generally considered to have conclusively set at rest all objections to the renewal of the labour trade in the Western Pacific.

I wish that I could share that conviction; but, in truth, even if the two points to which that letter is exclusively directed be assumed to be completely established, objections have been left wholly untouched by Sir James, which at least deserve very serious consideration before the resumption of the labour trade by Queensland can be pronounced wholly free from danger.

In the first place-and this is, to my thinking, one of the most serious objections which can be urged against the trade—the population of the islands from which the supply of labour is drawn is so scanty that the drain from it of a large number of ablebodied men can hardly fail to be accompanied by disastrous consequences. Their removal, even if attended by no other evils, would in itself involve most mischievous results both as to the prospect of the continued existence of the native races, and on the comfort and prosperity of those who remain on the islands from which they are taken. Savage though these people are, a highly artificial system of social and political life in many places prevails among them. Under this system, every man has his appointed duty to perform towards the community of which he is a member. However voluntary his departure from the island may be, it leaves his share of communal work unprovided for, and his family a burden on others. The loss to a village of a number of its men means a diminution of its food supply and of its powers of defence, accompanied by an increase in the proportionate amount of the more helpless part of the community which has to be fed and defended by others. Not even the most conscientious labour agent, if satisfied that a recruit himself desired to engage, would ever think of asking him if he were free from communal obligations; but his removal is not unnaturally resented by the community to which his services are lost. An emigration agency which induced apprentices and soldiers to desert, leaving their families a burden on the parish, would not find much favour in the eyes even of more civilised governments than those of the Pacific Islands.

From many causes the native races of the Western Pacific have rapidly diminished in numbers. Whether their decay can by any means be arrested is doubtful. But the fact cannot be disguised that the labour trade renders any attempt to check depopulation hopeless, and involves the early extinction of the whole native population of an extensive region. It is thought a reproach to Spain that the demand of her settlers for labour, in the early part of the sixteenth century, swept out of existence the whole native population of the West Indies. Will it be no reproach to Great Britain if a similar demand on the part of British settlers is attended with similar results?

There is another consideration with regard to the resumption of the labour traffic by Queensland, which, so far as I am aware, has not yet been mentioned by any of those who have written on the subject, but which demands very serious attention. The colony of Queensland has been invested with an absolute control over the British portion of the great island of New Guinea. In that territory, since it became a British possession, recruiting for labour has been strictly prohibited, and it has been declared, both by the late Sir Peter Scratchley and the present able administrator of New Guinea, Sir William MacGregor, that it is essential that it should continue

to be so, to give measures designed for the benefit of the natives any chance of success. Is it intended now to legalise it? If the answer be "Yes," it is surely matter for grave reflection that the step has been condemned by anticipation by those responsible for the administration of the possession, and who have expressed themselves on this subject quite as strongly as such missionaries as CHALMERS, LAWES, and MACFARLANE-men whose exceptional breadth of view and powers of mind render their opinions worthy of more than ordinary respect. If the answer be "No," it is impossible not to feel some uncertainty as to the ability of the Queensland Government to maintain that negative. If the need for what is (absurdly enough) called "Kanaka" labour be indeed as imperative as is alleged, will it be possible to close this source of supply to planters, in the face of the ever-increasing difficulty felt in procuring it, due partly to the dwindling of the population in the smaller islands, partly to the action of Germany and France, and partly, let us hope, also to the increased stringency of the regulations under which the trade is conducted? And if the trade be indeed so free from all objections as is asserted, the planters may with great force ask why it should be forbidden in New Guinea. But if the planters of Queensland are to draw their supply of labour from British New Guinea, it is clear that a relation is established between the colony and its dependency which was not contemplated when control over New Guinea was conferred on Queensland, and which is perilously full of temptations to abuse-temptations which, however excellent the intentions of those now in power, it may not always be possible for the Government of Queensland successfully to resist. If New Guinea is to be opened to the labour trader, it will, I think, become a question whether it may not be necessary, for the efficient protection of Her Majesty's native subjects therein, to constitute there a separate Government, not in any way dependent for its existence on the votes of those in whose interest the traffic has been sanctioned.

These grounds for hesitation in pronouncing the resumption of the labour traffic by Queensland wholly unobjectionable are in no way affected by Sir James Garrick's letter. The points which he seeks to establish are two—that the labourers, when imported, are well treated in Queensland, and that the trade as lately conducted has been wholly free from abuses; while the stringency of the new regulations now about to be promulgated will, he urges, preclude the possibility of their recurrence.

That the labourers are well treated when in Queensland is a matter for satisfaction, nor have I any reason to doubt that, generally speaking, they are so, and that the heavy mortality which has prevailed among them may be attributed to other causes than ill-treatment. But, although ill-treatment on the plantations would no doubt have added another ground of objection to the trade, the condition of the labourer while in Queensland is, in truth, to a great degree irrelevant in the discussion of the questions whether the exhaustion of the native populations through the labour trade is not in itself an evil, and whether the quest for labour, as conducted in the islands, is not accompanied by abuses from which it is impossible wholly to dissociate it. If it were indeed true—which, be it observed, I am myself very far from saying—that the recruited labourers were generally taken from their homes by force or fraud, that initial evil would not be atoned for by the fact that they were humanely treated when they had reached Queensland. A similar defence was rejected, and rightly rejected, when urged, as it frequently was, in palliation of the West Indian Slave-trade.

It is, in my opinion, a gross exaggeration to denounce as Slavery an engagement to labour for a limited term of years, which, in theory always, and in practice generally, is freely, though often ignorantly, entered upon; nor will anyone more readily admit

than myself that it is possible to conduct such a system of engagements without abuse. But, at the same time, I fear it must be confessed that the danger, and even probability, of abuse is enormous, and I trust that the Queensland Government, instead of denying this, as it seems inclined to do, will boldly face the fact and grapple with it. This is a matter on which I may speak with some confidence. During the time that I was Governor of Fiji a large number of labourers were recruited from other islands for service there. I am certain that the Fijian Government of that day felt the utmost anxiety and made every possible effort to prevent abuses on the part of the recruiting agents; but I am afraid that, notwithstanding all our vigilance and all our exertions, illegal things were done which escaped our knowledge altogether, while, as a rule, those with which we did become acquainted were only made known to us too late for redress or punishment to be possible. My faith in the efficacy of regulations, however carefully framed, is, therefore, not unbounded. We are told that in the present case they are certain to be enforced, because a Government agent necessarily accompanies every vessel engaged in the trade, and Bishop Selwyn, in his temperate and candid letter, seems to admit and to accept the presence of the Government agent as a security against abuse. But he immediately proceeds, consciously or unconsciously, to demonstrate that the security is worthless. What is his description of these Government agents? He writes:-

"I have known many of these men, and found some of them men of high character and anxious to do their duty. But too often they are picked up when all other trades have failed. They one and all told me that the attempt to do their duty has led to great friction, and it needs an exceptional man to stand the strain of an incessant contest for a faithful fulfilment of the law. Many shut their eyes to abuses, a few wilfully abet."

My experience as Her Majesty's High Commissioner in the Western Pacific entirely coincides with that of Bishop Selwyn. The labour agents I have known were certainly not generally "exceptional men," though I have known two or three who discharged their duties in a most conscientious spirit, and led very unpleasant lives in consequence. A much larger number would, I think, have protested—some vigorously, others feebly—against serious misconduct prominently brought to their notice, though not anxious to look below the surface, while that some Government agents have assisted in scandalous outrages we need not go beyond the report of the Queensland Royal Commission of 1885 to learn.

I do not at all question the sincerity of Sir S. Griffith's intention strictly to enforce the observation of the regulations he is about to frame, but I must own that I doubt his power, or that of any other Minister in Queensland, to do so. It is, perhaps, the weakest spot in the defence of the resumption of the trade that the regulations under which it is to be conducted cannot practically be enforced without the virtual consent of those whom they are intended to control. Unless backed by public opinion, no Ministry could strictly enforce the observation of such rules. That public opinion in Queensland has undergone a salutary change with regard to native questions, I thankfully acknowledge; but whether it may be safely trusted to enforce stringent regulations respecting them is not so certain, and there are not wanting some signs which point in a contrary direction. If the Queensland planters "must" have the labour of Pacific Islanders, or cease from growing sugar, it may be presumed that they probably "will" have it; and, though they may decidedly prefer to obtain what they want in a legitimate manner, it may be concluded that now, as of old, there are those who, rather than not get it at all, will take, quocunque modo, what they

earnestly desire. And if public opinion supports them in so doing, no Minister, however honest his intentions, could successfully oppose them. He would be swept from office by the votes of those on whom he is dependent for power.

The atrocities which, it is now on all hands admitted, disgraced the traffic some years ago, were not prevented by the excellent regulations then in force, nor by the presence of Government agents in the recruiting ships; nor can I forget, what it is perhaps even more important to remember, that it was in those days maintained in the Press and on the platform, just as loudly as it is now, that abuses were impossible under the regulations, and that if any exceptional cases had occurred they were, at all events, completely matters of the past. I am not, therefore, prepared to conclude that the adoption of good regulations secures their enforcement, or that the fact that abuses are not reported to official authority is conclusive evidence of their non-existence.

The importation of Indian coolie labourers is free from almost all the dangers which attend the Pacific labour traffic. The population of the Indian peninsula is redundant, and emigration thence is a benefit, not an injury, to those who remain. The vigilance of the Indian Government renders abuses in recruiting difficult, and the contracts under which the labourers are employed are carefully watched, and, if necessary, can be enforced by the action of competent external authority. It is much to be wished that the planters of Queensland could see their way to the adoption of the course which is, I understand, about to be followed by their neighbours in the northern part of South Australia, who intend to ask, and will certainly obtain, permission from the Indian Government to recruit in India the coloured labour of which they stand in need.

I have the honour to remain,

Your obedient servant.

Ascot, June 7, 1892.

ARTHUR GORDON.

The East African Railway.

Our of the various routes for the projected railway through the British East Africa Company's territory, two are considered by Captain Macdonald, who is conducting the survey, to be practicable. At the date of the report (March 5), the survey party had reached to Kikuyu, a distance of 346 miles from Mombasa, or roughly two-thirds of the way to the Victoria-Nyanza. There would be nothing, the captain considers, to prevent a line being built between these two points for about £1,022,000, or about £3,000 per mile. This is for a line, metre gauge, with light earthwork, and only ballasted when swampy ground has to be crossed, but fairly bridged. The gradients would be equivalent to 1'5 per cent., or 1 in 66, which would admit of considerable carrying power. The most fertile districts of the company's territory would be in touch with the railway, and the check the line would place on Masai raids would probably considerably extend the area of cultivation and enable much valuable and well-watered land now uninhabited to be made use of by the agricultural Wakamba.

Morocco.

In the last number of the Reporter we published a letter addressed by the Anti-Slavery Society to more than fifty Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom, urging these bodies to take steps to lay before Her Majesty's Government the importance of dealing with the question of opening up the immense resources of the great Empire of Morocco to legitimate commerce, and for instructing their representative in that country, Sir Charles Euan-Smith, K.C.B., to press upon the Sultan the necessity of instituting those internal reforms, the lack of which renders his country a disgrace to civilisation.

This letter has obtained a world-wide circulation through the columns of *The Times*, and as Sir Charles Euan-Smith has paid his diplomatic visit to the Sultan, and has already had two interviews with his Shereefian Majesty, we feel sure that he has not failed to press upon him the importance of this subject. It is stated that Commissioners have been appointed to discuss the question of a new Commercial Treaty; but we know from past experience that these discussions generally end in talk, and it will be necessary that the Chambers of Commerce bestir themselves if they really wish to inaugurate a new era in the commercial history of Morocco.

Mr. Donald Mackenzie, the well-known Managing Director of the English Establishment at Cape Juby, a little to the South of Morocco, has lately given addresses before the Chambers of Commerce of Glasgow and Liverpool, and, as he is an authority upon Morocco questions, the special meetings convened to hear him were largely attended. From these addresses we make a few extracts:—

BARBAROUS MOROCCO.

Several European nations were watching with keen interest passing events in the dominions of His Shereefian Majesty, and were waiting patiently for the time when they might be able to scramble for their share of that unhappy country. Having described the position of Morocco, and the barbarous condition into which it had descended, Mr. MACKENZIE said it abounded in valuable minerals, and the soil was of the richest description, the climate was everything that could be desired, and well suited for Europeans. There were several large rivers passing through the country, which could be navigated for hundreds of miles inland, but at present they were neither utilised for traffic nor irrigation. The whole country was traversed by the great Atlas chain of mountains, whose summits were covered with perpetual snow. It seemed strange that a country, naturally so rich, within five days steam of England, should have been permitted to remain so long in its present barbarous condition. Immense tracts of land were uncultivated, and the land thinly peopled; indeed, the only portion brought under regular cultivation was to be found near the port towns. All the Sultan's Ministers were instruments to carry out the royal will and pleasure. They subsisted by corruption and oppression, and every post in the country was sold by them to the highest bidder, and the proceeds divided between the Sultan and themselves. Even some of the Governors of a province paid as much as £10,000 for his Governorship. When a Governor obtained his post he squeezed all he could out of the natives, and even imprisoned the relatives of his predecessor, so that he might

obtain all their property. Such a post was by no means a bed of roses, for it sometimes happened that if the Sultan should hear that the Governor had accumulated great wealth, he would be put to a system of torture worthy of the palmy days of the Inquisition, in order to compel him to reveal where his treasure was. There were several large districts in Morocco whose inhabitants defied the Sultan's authority, and although he was continually fighting he was unable to bring them under his control.

POPULATION AND TRADE.

After describing the shocking condition of Moorish prisons, Mr. MACKENZIE went on to say that the population of Morocco was, roughly, six millions, composed of Berbers and Arabs. The Jews numbered about 200,000. Although the Sultan possessed a Finance Minister, a budget of receipts and expenditure of the Empire was never issued, and it was doubtful if His Majesty knew much about the subject. The Moorish revenue was principally derived from the duties charged on the import and export of merchandisc, lands, cattle, and products. Ten per cent. was charged on all imports, which was fair enough, but the duty charged on the export was often greater than the value of the goods. The minerals of the country, which were of the richest description, were not allowed to be exported; neither were cattle without special license from the Sultan. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the commerce of Morocco amounted to about three millions sterling a year, about twothirds of it being with England. The last treaty of commerce made by England with Morocco was in 1856. The Germans concluded a similar one with the Sultan last year, with very slight improvement on the former. If the duties on native products were lowered to a reasonable extent, with full liberty to export all the articles of the country, and an improvement in the means of transit, under a fairly good Government, the commerce of Morocco would increase to an enormous extent, and it would become one of the best markets for our manufactures.

ABUSE OF CONSULAR PROTECTION.

The opposition shown to Christians by the Moorish Government arose partly from religious fanaticism, but more especially from the fact that almost every privilege hitherto granted by the Sultan to foreigners has always been abused to such an extent that the Christians had become indirectly the greatest oppressors of those Moors who still remain under the rule of his Shereefian Majesty. The evil arose out of a system of protection which was confirmed and consolidated by the Madrid Treaty of 1880. Before that period foreigners resident in Morocco were exempt from all taxation, and subject to the sole jurisdiction of their respective Consuls. But the above treaty provided that the same privilege should be extended to the native agents of foreigners. This was doubtless done in the interest of commerce, but, unfortunately, it gave birth to such terrible abuses that it had disgraced the very name of Christianity and European civilisation. When the natives saw the advantages of protection, the rich Jews and Moors sought it in order to escape the tax-gatherers, and in many cases considerable sums were paid for this privilege; in fact it became a profitable article of sale, from which a considerable revenue had been derived by some foreign Ministers and Consuls. The GRAND SHEREEF OF WAZAN and his family became French proteges, so that now Wazan was under the protection of France. By this means the Sultan was deprived of a great part of his revenue, and it rendered the condition of these Moors who remain under His Majesty's authority almost intolerable.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND FAILURE OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

The Slave-trade with all its horrors still continued in Morocco without check. England was the only Power which had made any effort to abolish it. Proceeding to

consider the kind of diplomacy carried on at Tangier, Mr. MACKENZIE said it was of a very inferior order, and arose from the fact that Morocco was in a barbarous condition, and that the Sultan, who was a despot of the first water, had no Court, but wandered about from place to place like an Arab chief. The Sultan's diplomacy was a system of Oriental craft and deception, which had sustained the independence of his Empire up to the present time. The same system of intrigue practised by Moorish diplomatists extended to the European Ministers resident in Tangier. Each had a mortal jealousy of the other, and instead of trying to find a remedy for the disease from which the country suffered, spent their time quarrelling amongst themselves as to the division of the Sultan's territory, and doing all they could to bring about a dissolution. The Sultan was fully aware of the plans of these European diplomatists, and very cleverly worked one against the other for his own advantage. Morocco questions suffered from there being no independent press to criticise the acts of Ministers, and very little was known in Europe as to what went on in that Empire. If some of the European nations were aware of the acts of their Ministers they would not permit wrong-doing. The foreign Ministers had not at any time put out a helping hand to lighten the burdens of the Moors, but had done all they possibly could to make them heavier.

ACTION OF ENGLAND.

England was the only Power which took a real interest in the future of Morocco, and the natives were keen-sighted enough to see that we were their true friends. England had no selfish designs on that country other than to keep it independent. Gibraltar was provisioned from Morocco, and the bulk of the commerce was in our hands. It was surprising that the country had held together so long, considering the oppression under which the natives lived. It was their religious leaders who had kept the people from revolution. They had always quarrels and divisions amongst themselves, so that they would never unite for any common object. That was their weakness and the Sultan's strength. The time had now come when the Morocco question should be seriously considered by the people of this country. We wanted an increased outlet for our manufactured goods, and Morocco offered a virgin field. It was our duty to do all we could to extend the blessings of civilisation to the Moors. This was a favourable moment for placing the views of the Chamber before the Government. The new British Minister had just gone to the Moorish Court, and as he was anxious to bring about an improved condition he required every possible support. He (Mr. MACKENZIE) appealed to the Chamber to press for such reforms as would lead to the social and material improvement of Morocco. Foreign protection was unjust to the Sultan, as it deprived His Majesty of a large part of his legitimate revenue, and it was a terrible hardship to those natives who remained under his control, as all the burdens of the Moorish Government fell on their shoulders. They were also exposed to the oppression of foreign protegės. That question was so distasteful to the Sultan that he had flatly refused to grant any more favours until that was removed. While it was of the greatest importance to abolish protection, the Moorish Government ought at the same time to be reformed, so as to afford proper protection to the lives and property of its people, to administer the law with justice and equity, in order that the natives might not be under the necessity of seeking Christian protection against the rapacity of the governors. The present Moorish Government was quite unable to give such security. The only effectual way in which such reformation could be carried out was the establishment of international tribunals. Courts of this nature, which would be open to foreigners, residents, and all classes of natives, was the only remedy for the evils which oppressed the Moors at the present time. England, which carried on about two-thirds of the commerce of Morocco, was the only Power which could carry out these reforms successfully, by bringing its great influence to bear on the Sultan.

A GREAT FUTURE POSSIBLE.

A Treaty of Commerce, conceived in a liberal spirit, should be pressed for at the same time. England, in taking up a question of this nature, would doubtless invite those European Powers who were interested in Morocco to join her in determining

the reforms which were necessary for the well-being and prosperity or the natives of that country. Surely their jealousies would not prevent them from co-operating with England to put an end to a scandal which was a disgrace to modern civilisation. Some said that France would not join in this work of regeneration, but would prefer to fish in troubled waters in case of the disruption of Morocco. He did not think French statesmen were so short-sighted. France had a great history, and was still a mighty civilising influence in the world. He did not think the French Government would hold back from co-operating with England in the reformation of Moorish administration, especially when this country had no selfish designs in Morocco. We did not ask for any special favours that were not granted to other countries. Besides, he thought Frenchmen would remember the fate of Egypt. But should France or any other Power hold back, England could carry on the great civilising mission in Morocco alone. He felt assured that, if the reforms to which he had alluded were carried out, they would lead to the social improvement and material prosperity of Morocco. Foreign capital and enterprise would enter into the country for the development of its vast resources. With a fairly good Government, Morocco would become in a few years one of the richest countries in the world, and a most important outlet for the manufactures of this country. (Applause.)

In reply to questions asked by some of the audience, Mr. MACKENZIE gave the following additional information respecting

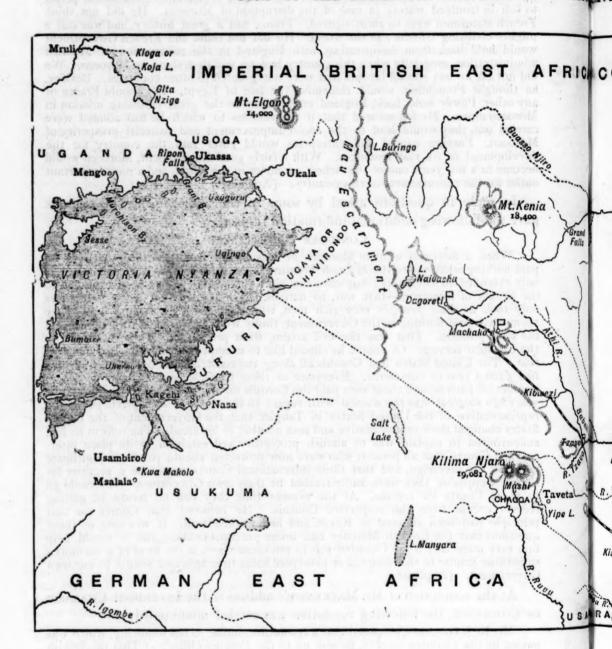
CONSULAR PROTECTION.

When a foreigner went to Morocco he was exempt from taxation—that was, he paid nothing whatever to the Moorish Treasury. Previous to 1880 this privilege was only extended to foreigners; but since that time that privilege had been extended to the agents of foreigners—that was, to natives. It happened that many foreigners only took as their protegės very rich men, who paid them for it, and while they themselves paid nothing to the Government, those who cultivated their land were in the same position. That was the evil arising from protection. Then they came to the Consular service. Of course he should like to exempt England from any abuse of that. The United States had Consuls all along the coast, and he did not think they had £100 a year of commerce. Everyone of these Consuls could protect a certain number of natives, and these men paid the Consuls for the protection. Indeed, some years ago so great was the scandal with regard to the abuse of this privilege by the representative of the United States in Tangier that the Government of the United States changed their representative and sent another in his stead. The reform he had endeavoured to explain was to abolish protection and establish in its place international Courts, that all persons who were now protected should pay their legitimate taxes to the sovereign, and that those international Courts would be a security for them. Supposing they were badly treated by their own Government, they could go to these Courts for redress. At the present time they had no means of getting redress except from the respective Consuls. He believed that Courts on that principle had been adopted in Egypt, and had worked well. It was one of these questions that the English Minister had under his consideration, and it would help him very materially if the Chamber was to put these views in the form of a memorial something similar to that adopted in Liverpool some time ago, and send it to our own Government. (Applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Mackenzie's address to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

Mr. R. J. Glasgow proposed that a resolution similar to the following, which was passed by the Chamber in 1888, be sent up to the Foreign Office:—"That the British Government be requested, in conjunction with other Powers, to impress upon the Sultan of Morocco the immediate necessity of granting a new treaty of commerce framed in a liberal spirit, providing (1) for the unrestricted export of all the products of Morocco; (2) that the facilities given to foreigners at Tangier to acquire land and to build houses and stores may be extended to all parts of the empire, and that the country should otherwise be opened up to capital and enterprise; (3) that the present system of protecting natives by the representatives of foreign Powers should be abolished, and that international tribunals should be established in its place,"

MAP OF THE PROPOSED MOMBASA AND VICTORY



For this excellent Map accompanying Sir Richard Temple's paper, we and ted

"Fortnightly Review," Messrs. Chapter H.

YANZA RAILWAY.



anded to the courtesy of the Publishers of the habri Hall.

The Victoria-Myanza Railway.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE contributes an interesting article to The Fortnightly Review, of May, entitled "A Parliamentary View of the Victoria-Nyanza Railway," together with an excellent map of the district proposed to be traversed. The writer explains that he is not a shareholder of the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY. and that he looks upon this question as an outsider. He takes the same view that the ANTI-SLAVERY Society has taken, that the construction of this railway must infallibly deal a heavy blow to the Central African Slave-trade, by substituting the iron horse for the human beast of burden. We venture to make a few extracts from this article. dealing more particularly with the Slavery question, and the obligation incurred by England at the Brussels Conference to do something towards opening up the interior of Africa by facilitating the making of roads, and especially of railroads.

SLAVE-TRADE IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY'S TERRI-TORIES.

Now the Slave-trade is proved but too surely to exist in this region. Its proofs are to be seen in the thousands of Slaves already liberated, and in colonies of runaway Slaves settled within these limits. Its existence is attested by a host of trustworthy witnesses,

Its caravans have occasionally been encountered by British travellers. barbarous traffic begins somewhere in the country to the west and north-west of Uganda, not far from the upper course of the Nile; then it is developed in Uganda itself, and thence makes its way round the great lake. Probably the greater part goes round the northern or British end, and then finds its outlets to the eastern sea-coast, already mentioned, almost under the eyes of British authority. One of its lines runs from the lake to the coast on the British side of the Anglo-German line already mentioned, and within the British "sphere." Another line runs from the lake to a point on the coast considerably north, that near the northern limit of the British "sphere," not far from the Anglo-Italian line, or the border between the British "sphere" and the Italian "sphere" lying on the north. This line of the Slave-trade lies also within the British "sphere." Here, then, are two main lines of Slave-trade, which, after the Brussels Conference, England must consider herself bound to stop if she can. And there will be lesser lines also, though the lines may vary from time to time, according to circumstances, among which must be reckoned the repressive measures to be adopted under British auspices. But there is vet another main line. From Uganda it is understood that a Slave-trade line forms itself, and runs southwards through the German "sphere." Of course the Germans will be answerable for stopping that line if they can. Still the origo mali is in the British sphere, and the stream of inhuman traffic may be, and, if possible, ought to be, dammed up at its source.

Then it is argued that with a railway from the coast to the lake, the two first lines of the Slave-trade can be stopped, and without a railway cannot. Further, if once the rail were carried to the eastern shore of the lake, a line of lake steamers could be established across the lake to the western, or Uganda, shore, to the appreciable consolidation of British influence or authority there. Thus it is held that the third line of the Slave-trade, as above described, could be stopped ab initio. It is difficult to specify these large cases exactly in a short space, and our knowledge, necessarily imperfect, is growing constantly. But such seems to be the general outcome of the known facts. Whether each and all of these descriptions be topographically correct or not, there is, unhappily, no doubt that the horrid traffic has several branches in this quarter; and, happily, it is probable, or even certain, that most of these could be cut off virtually by the construction of a railway.

After a long and interesting description of the work done by the BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY, and a sketch of the formidable Masai tribe, Sir RICHARD TEMPLE proceeds to inform his readers of the nature of the country through which the proposed railway is to run, and this of course will be much better understood by those who study the article, and compare it with the map. We can only give the following short epitome of the

PROPOSED LINE OF RAILWAY.

The line then begins from Mombasa on the sea-coast, and is to touch the north-eastern corner of the Lake Victoria-Nyanza. Mombasa is a noble harbour for ships of war and of peace. It is understood to have been much admired by naval authorities. As the crow flies, the distance is taken at about four hundred miles, but with the unavoidable deflections of alignment at five hundred miles. At first the line passes through a favourable country, as regards levels and river drainage, from an engineering point of view—not far from the basin of the Tana River. This much is,

we understand, known from the results of the preliminary survey which has already advanced for some distance. Then the line ascends gradually by Kikuyu to undulating plateaux, rising to a considerable elevation, with many advantages of soil and climate. Next it arrives at what may probably prove to be the crux of the whole passage, "the Mau Escarpment," as it is called. This obstacle must be of the nature of a rock-wall, having a lofty and formidable character—which has to be surmounted or circumvented, and so passed somehow. How exactly this is to be accomplished we shall hardly know till the survey is done. But from experience in other quarters there is no doubt that this will be successfully accomplished, though at a heavy expense probably. From this crucial point there is a descent all the way to the Great Lake, comparatively plain sailing for the line, but probably expensive. The precise point in the north-east corner where the line will touch the Great Lake cannot yet be determined; but there will be no difficulty in such determination, once the survey shall have been made.

WHAT WOULD IT COST?

Then there is the question of cost, that is, of capital outlay. For the portion of the line already surveyed by Captain MACDONALD, the cost is estimated at £3,000 per mile. But then some of the hardest sections of the line have yet to come. Five hundred miles at, say, £5,000 a mile, £2,500,000; this is an estimate which the projectors might put forward in the hope of its being realised. But could the line be constructed for that sum? Who shall answer that question for Africa? Native labour would doubtless be forthcoming on what are known as Indian or Asiatic wagesperhaps slightly in excess, however. The other charges, such as European supervision of various grades, machinery, plant, permanent way, material, may be calculated at Indian rates. With all this it may be doubted whether the line could be constructed for less than £5,000 a mile. Few will believe that this could be done for less; many will fear lest it should cost more—say £7,000 conjecturally—that is, £3,500,000. This amount of capital at 3 per cent. means £105,000 of yearly interest; or, if £2,500,000 be the better estimate, then the interest would amount to £75,000. Such are the limits, in the first instance, of a burden which is not heavy, and which would gradually decrease.

How to FIND THE MONEY.

Then follows the question, How could such an obligation be met and discharged? The money must, of course, be raised in England. The capitalist would be sure to require some guarantee, because such a line as this could not possibly pay for some little time. The Imperial British East Africa Company would probably not undertake the work. A separate railway company would be formed, with the co-operation of the Imperial Company. Could the Imperial Company furnish the financial guarantee to the railway company? Well, it might be asked to furnish a part of such a guarantee, in return for the benefits it would receive from the undertaking, but it could not furnish the whole. This part would be the lesser part rather than the greater. Who would furnish the greater part then? There really is nobody else except the British Government. It comes to this, then, that the British Government would have to make a contribution annually, for some little time to come at least—in the shape either of a guaranteed interest or of a subsidy.

No doubt difference of opinion will prevail upon the vital question of

cost, and the necessity for a Government guarantee to ensure the due payment of interest on so large an outlay of capital.

The writer next forcibly discusses the question of the

MORAL OBLIGATIONS OF ENGLAND.

Then we may revert to the moral obligation incurred by England at the Brussels Conference. Either such an obligation is a reality or else a sham. There is no middle course between these two alternatives. We refuse to entertain the thought that England would affix her seal and signature to a sham. It must then be a reality; that is, it must be acted on and carried out. This, too, must cost some money. We may loyally strive to economise the cost, but some cost there must needs be. The other European Powers will believe that England must have foreseen that by accepting the obligation she incurred some pecuniary liability. There is still the interest of the British tax-payer to be considered. Well, he has never yet grudged the money or what he believes to be his duty to GoD and man; and as such he regards the national efforts for suppressing the Slave-trade. Putting sea operations against land operations, I have shown that it is doubtful whether he would, by helping the railway, have to pay more on the whole than he is now paying. But if he did have to pay just a little more, what then? He would be developing a noble territory, which he has, through the Government as his representative, taken under his protection at least, though not under his administration. And such development would open out new fields for British enterprise, fresh markets for British trade. Such extensions must, indeed, work out their own destiny without help from the tax-payer. But it sometimes happens that some state aid is needed at the initiatory stage for laying the foundation of future progress. Other nations, indeed, recognise this much more than England does. But occasionally England also recognises the same; and we may hope that in this instance she will accord such recognition.

England in Morocco.

The French journal Bulletin de l'Etranger devotes a long article to the matter contained in the letter addressed by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Chambers of Commerce on this subject—vide Reporter for March and April. After giving a full translation of this letter, the article calls attention to the great influence possessed in England by private societies over the policy of the Imperial Government, and points out that the recommendations contained in this letter have already borne fruit in the negotiations carried on between Sir Charles Euan-Smith and the Sultan of Morocco, as shewn in the proposal of the British Minister for the establishment of a telegraphic line between Tangier and Mogador, and for the appointment of British Vice-Consuls at the capital cities—Morocco and Fez—as well as for postal reforms. The article concludes as follows:—

[&]quot;We shall do well to follow closely the action taken by the EUAN-SMITH mission which is as important to us as to England."

PARLIAMENTARY.

House of Lords.

POLYNESIAN LABOUR IN QUEENSLAND.

May 5, 1892.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY rose to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with reference to the reported intention of the Government of Queensland to renew the recruitment of Polynesian labourers for service in that colony, what safeguards would be taken to prevent the abuses which attended such recruitment in former years? He said their lordships might have observed that it was reported that the Government of Queensland were about to take steps for renewing the practice of importing Polynesian labourers into that colony. The subject was one of considerable gravity, and he had no doubt that it had occupied the attention of the Colonial Office; and that the Secretary of State for the Colonies would be glad of an opportunity to give some information about the matter. This immigration of native labour had been attended in former years with very serious abuses. There were two kinds of abuses. that might arise. One kind had reference to the circumstances under which the labourers were recruited; and the other, to the treatment of the labourers after their arrival in the colony. He would refer to the second kind first. He was far from supposing that the employers in Queensland were more wanting in humanity than employers elsewhere; but it had been found that where coloured labour was employed by a superior race there was always a possibility-unless great care was taken to prevent it-of oppression and hardship, if not of actual cruelty. There was, he knew, extensive coolie emigration from India to our colonies; but that emigration had always been watched with the greatest solicitude by the Government of India, who took care that the most stringent measures were enforced to ensure good treatment for the coolies. He was happy to think that the measures taken had been successful, and that coolies were well treated in our colonies. When foreign countries had desired to import coolies from India into their colonies, it had been found very difficult to obtain the conditions which the Government of India insisted upon in order to safeguard the natives. That the Government of Queensland would take effective measures for the protection of the labourers he did not however doubt. He referred to the measures that could be taken to prevent abuses after the arrival of the men in the colony. But there undoubtedly was danger of abuse during the recruitment of the labourers in the Polynesian islands. The facts disclosed before the commission of inquiry that reported in 1885 proved that then there had been most grave abuse, and even shocking cruelty. Whatever precautions might be taken it would always, he feared, be difficult to prevent cases of hardship in dealing with men who were really savages and could not possibly understand thoroughly the conditions under which they were to be employed. But in the past there had been distinct cases of kidnapping, and at one time what was done did not differ very much from the Slave-trade. The Queensland Government would not be alone responsible in the matter in future, because they had no jurisdiction on the high seas or on the islands where the labourers were recruited. The responsibility, in fact, rested upon the Imperial Government of seeing that the regulations affecting recruitment were such as to prevent abuses as far as possible. The proceedings of the Imperial Government and of the colony would be carefully watched by foreign nations, who felt some

surprise that we should sanction a traffic which had been attended with such serious evils. He quite recognized, of course, that in the position in which Queensland found itself, with its large tracts of territory, which could not be adequately cultivated by white labourers, the prosperity of the colony largely depended upon the supply of labour from other countries. If it were possible to make arrangements for the immigration of coolies into the colony he should feel much less apprehension, because the emigration of coolies might be so regulated that there would be no danger of

hardship, oppression, or fraud.

LORD KNUTSFORD said that the Colonial Office had not yet received a copy of the Act, which he believed had been passed by the Colonial Legislature, with reference to the employment of natives. He was therefore unable to say what precautions had been taken by the Legislature to guard against the abuses which had attended the system to which the noble Earl had drawn attention. He felt sure, however, that the Colonial Government had given very careful attention to the subject, from the statements which had appeared in the newspapers as having been made by Sir S. GRIFFITHS, Premier of Queensland. Sir S. GRIFFITHS, for many years opposed the continuance of this labour system, but last year saw reason to change his opinion, and now advocated the renewal of the system on the ground that it was impossible to carry on the sugar industry in Queensland with white labour. Another ground which he had for believing that the Government of Queensland had paid attention to the subject, was that the admiral of the station, LORD C. Scott, had been asked by the Government to report upon the system, and to favour them with any suggestion's which he could make with a view to the prevention of abuses in connection with recruitment. The admiral had not only forwarded a report, explaining his own views, but also a report made by Captain DAVIES, who had had a long experience in the Polynesian Islands. There was no doubt that the Queensland Government were fully alive, not only to the difficulties of the case, but also to the necessity of precautions for preventing abuses such as had been referred to by the noble Earl. Perhaps he might be allowed to allude to what he thought was a misapprehension on this subject. As the noble Earl has explained, the question arose, first, in connection with recruiting, and, secondly, with regard to the treatment of the natives when on the plantations. With regard to the second side of the question, he might say that, as far as Her Majesty's Government were informed, there had been no question that the natives when employed on the plantations had been well treated. They had had no representations to the contrary, and they had searched without finding any official complaint made with regard to the treatment of the natives in this way. He should also like to mention, to confirm this view, that while the number of labourers imported in the last few years had distinctly increased, the mortality had decreased; while on the 31st December, 1890, there was in the Savings Bank the sum of £17,629 to the credit of the islanders, while, in 1890, £2,000 had been spent upon hospitals alone for the natives. He mentioned this to show that with regard to the treatment of the natives in the Colonies no fault was to be found. The abuses to which the noble Earl had referred, and which had received most justly the strong condemnation of-he thought he might say-the civilised world, had been confined to the system of recruiting labourers in the islands. Those abuses had come to light in 1884, when the Government agent, the recruiting agent, and the captain and crew of the Hopeful, had been tried in Queensland for offences committed in recruiting. Two of the latter, the captain and mate, were tried for murder and sentenced to death, though their sentences were commuted, it was only to penal servitude for life, five

others being also sentenced to terms of penal servitude. Then came the Commission to which the noble Earl had referred, which had reported early in 1885. He would call attention to the fact that that Commission had not been instructed to inquire into the traffic generally, but into the incidents of a certain number of Therefore, it should be remembered that the abuses-which were of a shameful character-reported by the Commission were confined to those seven voyages. The natives had also been taken from a special group of islands close to New Guinea. In his opinion it was hardly fair to condemn the whole system of recruiting on account of those undoubtedly serious abuses. He thought that it was fair to argue this, because since 1885 recruiting had been going on, and as he had said, there had been an increased number of natives each year, and yet there had been no representations of an abuse, nor had any complaint been brought to the notice of the Government, except as to the hardships of the regulations. He hoped, therefore, that the very serious example which had been made, and the inquiries conducted by the Commission, had served as a warning against the repetition of such abuses. He did not think that any good would accrue from his now pointing out what precautions and what conditions Her Majesty's Government would desire in the Queensland Act, because he was not yet aware of what precautions were contained in it. If it was necessary for Queensland that native labour should be introduced, there was force in what the noble Earl had said, that we should have due precautions against the repetition of these abuses; but he thought that it was clearly the duty of the Queensland Government to see that every precaution was taken to avoid the occurrence of abuses in recruiting, and that continuous good treatment, when in employment, should be secured to the labourers, and also a safe return. He was sure that Her Majesty's Government would support the Queensland Government in any precautions which they thought fit, however stringent, and they were paying special attention to this question.

The EARL OF KIMBERLEY was not sure what the noble Lord meant by saying that Her Majesty's Government would support the Queensland Government. He contended that the Imperial Government were bound to see that the precautions were sufficient.

LORD KNUTSFORD said that Her Majesty's Government had no desire to shirk their responsibility; what he meant was that there was a certain party in the Colony who opposed any stringent regulations, and he thought, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government ought to support any regulation which was put in the Act.

House of Commons.

POLYNESIAN LABOUR.

May 9th.

Mr. S. Smith asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether, pending the receipt of the Bill passed by the Queensland Legislature for allowing the reintroduction of South Sea Island labour to that colony, Her Majesty's Government would secure that the traffic should not be re-opened; whether he would engage that the papers relating thereto should be laid upon the table before the Royal assent was given to the Bill; and whether he would lay upon the table the report of LORD C. Scott, the admiral of the station, and that of Captain Davies, who had had a long experience in the Polynesian Islands.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—Since the Hon. Member put his question on the paper the Secretary of State has telegraphed to the Governor to ask whether he had assented to the Bill, and whether it is in operation. If it has been assented to, Her Majesty has only the power of disallowing the Act, which has become law. The Secretary of State has further telegraphed that he trusts that the Colonial Government, if it is practicable, will delay issuing licenses under the Act until he has received and considered the measure, and the safeguards with which it is doubtless surrounded. The reports of the naval officers mentioned in the question shall be given with other papers bearing upon the subject. It may be satisfactory to the House that I should mention the fact that Polynesian labourers have been introduced under the existing regulations to Queensland in increasing numbers up to the beginning of last year (and I may state that, in 1890, 2,459 labourers were so introduced), and that since the beginning of 1885 no case of kidnapping or of serious infringement of the regulations. has, as far as we know, been brought under notice. It may, therefore, fairly be assumed that the regulations are sufficient if properly watched and enforced, and to this end the attention of both Her Majesty's Government and the Queensland Government will be steadily directed.

THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRAFFIC.

May 13th.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM.—I beg to ask the Under-Secretary for the Colonies a question of which I have given him private notice—whether it is true, as reported in *The Times* of this morning, that the Royal assent has been given to a Bill for renewing the importation of Kanaka labour and the repetition of the white Slave-trade.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—The Bill has been passed, and the telegram which I have seen is substantially accurate. A telegram has also been received through the Agent-General of Queensland, which I will read to the House :- "Governor of Queensland out of reach of telegraphic communication. Act has been assented to; merely repeals. prohibition of issue of licenses after ninety. Present regulations remain in force until amended; revised regulations still more stringent ready, will be issued immediately on Governor's return. Government fully recognise necessity stringent regulations, fully determined to prevent infringement. Many return islanders waiting passage to islands. It is proposed to issue recruiting licenses under conditions of revised regulation to ships taking them. Sugar industry already shows great revival: matter of importance to afford every facility for supply of labour as soon as possible." The Hon. Member will see from the papers which will shortly be presented that, as I have already stated, immigration has for the last five years been carried on without any complaint. Before licenses are issued the regulations are now to be made still In these circumstances, and having regard to the assurances. contained in the telegram I have just read, Her Majesty's Government do not entertain any doubt as to the efficiency of the safeguards proposed by the Queensland Government.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM.—Considering the very deep interest taken in this country on this question, will the Hon. Gentleman not wait for postal communication or telegraph for these revised regulations and lay them on the table of the House?

Baron H. DE WORMS.—No, Sir, I will not promise to do that. He will see from what I have already stated that immigration has been carried on for the last five years without any complaint, and before licenses are again issued regulations still more stringent will be made. Under these circumstances and the assurances in the

telegram, Her Majesty's Government entertain no doubt that sufficient safeguards will be taken by the Queensland Government.

Mr. Picton desired to know whether the Royal assent which had been given would be overriden by the Royal prerogative.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—The Bill having passed becomes law, and unless it is dissented from it is in force.

Dr. CLARK asked whether the matter would come under the cognizance of the High Commissioner of the Pacific, and whether he would look after it.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the assurances given by the Queensland Government. (Hear, hear.)

GUNBOATS FOR LAKE NYASSA.

Sir A. Borthwick asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, seeing the great influence that the presence and movement of the two torpedo vessels on the Zambesi belonging to the Navy had exercised in maintaining order and assisting in the stopping of the Slave-trade, it would be possible to transfer those vessels to Lake Nyassa, where their operations would be even more useful.

Lord G. Hamilton.—I am obliged to the Hon. Gentleman for his suggestion, but there are great difficulties in giving effect to his wishes in the way he suggests. The gunboats maintained for service on the Zambesi are only adapted for river work; they cannot be taken to pieces and carried overland; moreover, their services cannot yet be dispensed with on the Zambesi. The Government have, however, decided to build two gunboats specially for service on Lake Nyassa; orders have been given for their construction, and arrangements have been made for sending them out as soon as the depth of water in the river permits of their ascent, which will be early in the autumn. The presence of these vessels on the lake will, we are confident, be of material assistance in arresting the Slave-trade at one of its sources.

THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRAFFIC.

May 17th.

Mr. John Ellis asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Colonial Office was in possession of any report from the Government of Queensland respecting the manner in which the Kanaka traffic had been carried on since 1886 under the regulations at present in force; and whether he would lay such report upon the table.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—A report has been issued annually since 1889 by the Queensland Immigration Department, and printed among the sessional papers every year. These reports will be included in the papers to be laid before Parliament.

Mr. John Ellis asked whether the reports would be published before the vote on account was taken.

Baron H. DE WORMS replied that that depended upon the date of the arrival of the papers from Queensland.

Mr. John Ellis asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the revised regulations respecting the Kanaka labour traffic had been issued by the Government of Queensland; and whether he would lay a copy of these upon the table, and also a copy of the regulations they were intended to supersede.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—The existing regulations will be included in the correspondence to be laid before Parliament; and the revised ones, if not received in time

for that paper, will be added in a supplementary one. A telegram has been sent requesting that copies may be sent home as soon as settled.

Mr. John Ellis asked whether the revised regulations had actually been issued.

Mr. Winterbotham had understood the Right Hon. Gentleman to say yesterday that he would telegraph asking that the revised regulations should be sent here by telegram.

Baron H. DE WORMS said that he had promised to telegraph for the regulations, but that he had not undertaken to ask that they should be telegraphed to this country. He did not know whether the revised rules had actually been issued or not.

Mr. Bryce asked the Right Hon. Gentleman to ascertain whether or not they had yet been despatched from Queensland.

Baron H. DE WORMS said that he had sent a telegram on the subject that morning.

Mr. S. SMITH asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention had been drawn to the statements by Mr. HUME NISBET that, in 1886, a labour vessel came into the Maryborough River "deluged with blood and filled with wounded men, through a rising of the cargo on board"; and that violence and ravishments were perpetrated by the lawless crews of the labour vessels upon the native women whom they conveyed to the labour plantations; whether he had seen Dr. Paron's statement, made in 1889, that at a hospital on the Queensland plantations. which he visited he found the patients to be nothing but native women and girls about to be confined, and that many white children were borne by them; and that multitudes of native women died at the Queensland plantation hospitals from abuse on the plantations; had the Queensland Government anything but the bare word of the ship's agent and crew as to whether returned labourers were landed on their own islands and amongst their own people; and whether the Right Hon. Gentlemen had seen Dr. PATON's statement that in one case many had been landed on an island twenty miles from their home, while the ship's company declared they had fulfilled the conditions; and whether many natives were murdered through being placed among hostile tribes; whether it was true that the Commissioner of British New Guinea had forbidden the recruiting of Kanakas from the territory under his jurisdiction; was the Right Hon. Gentleman aware that on the islands of the New Hebrides from which these men were recruited twenty-three distinct languages were spoken, many of which were unknown to anyone but the natives, and that in consequence the conditions of their engagements could not have been explained to the natives; and whether, in view of these facts, the Government still adhered to their decision to allow the Act to become law.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—In answer to the first and second paragraphs of the Hon, Member's question, my attention has not been drawn to the statements made by Mr. H. NISBET, nor have I seen that attributed to Dr. PATON. The Secretary of State cannot accept these statements as correct without inquiry; but the attention of the Colonial Government shall be drawn to them, and they shall be asked to report. With regard to the third paragraph, the Queensland Government agent is instructed to attend the vessels and to see that the regulations are carried out. I believe it is a fact that some years ago returned labourers were occasionally landed in error upon other than their own islands. This arose from the difficulty of identifying the islands, which were then imperfectly known. I have not seen the statement of Dr. PATON referred to. As regards the fourth paragraph, the prohibition of recruiting Kanakas in New Guinea is contained in a New Guinea ordinance of 1888, which was

approved by the Queensland Government. In reply to the fifth paragraph, I am aware that there is a great diversity of languages in the islands, and considerable difficulty has in the past been experienced as regards interpretation; but this difficulty is diminishing in consequence of the large number of labourers who have now been returned to their homes from Queensland and other places, and who are able to explain to their fellows the nature of the agreement they are entering into. As regards the last paragraph, I would call the Hon. Member's attention to a letter from Bishop Selwyn, late Bishop of Melanesia, which appeared in the Guardian of May 4 of this year, in which he says:—"I cannot help feeling that the indiscriminate condemnation of the traffic which has been expressed is likely to do more harm than good. It was true of the traffic in the beginning. It is not true of the traffic as now conducted." I can add nothing further to the statement I made yesterday.

Mr. S. SMITH gave notice that, in consequence of the unsatisfactory reply of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, he should raise the whole question of the Polynesian labourers on the next vote on account.

THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRAFFIC.

May 26th, 1892.

Mr. S. Smith asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention had been drawn to a letter from Admiral Erskine on the Polynesian labour traffic, which appeared in *The Times* of Saturday last, stating, as the result of three years' experience in command of the Australian squadron, that "even under the most stringent regulations wrongs and abuses occur in connection with the labour traffic, which invariably lead to bloodshed and accompanying complications and reprisals"; and whether, in view of the statement made by Admiral Erskine that, under the terms of the protectorate which he was authorised to promulgate, "it was declared that the natives of New Guinea should not be taken from their country and compelled, under arrangements and contracts which they cannot possibly understand, to labour continuously for three years on Queensland plantations," the Government were taking any measures to protect the natives of New Guinea from being imported into Queensland.

Baron H. DE Worms.—My attention has been drawn to the letter referred to by the Hon. Member. It will be observed that the very valuable experiences of Admiral Erskine were confined to a period during which the irregularities connected with the labour traffic have been admitted. If the Hon. Member will refer to page 210 of the Parliamentary Paper C-5091, Vol. 2, he will see that "no deportation of natives" is "allowed either from one part of the territory to another, or to places beyond the territory, except under ordinances reserved for Her Majesty's assent, and assented to by her Majesty." The removal of natives from the island is prohibited by a law passed in Queensland, in 1887, as well as by a law passed in New Guinea, in 1888. The latter will be found at page 234 of the Parliamentary Paper C. 5,883.

Mr. S. SMITH asked whether the attention of the Right Hon. Gentleman had been drawn to a letter by Admiral Scott, the present commander of the station, in which the Admiral regretted that it was proposed to introduce labour from the Polynesian Islands, and that no power was given for looking after the interests of the natives.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—The natives cannot be taken from New Guinea to Queensland.

Mr. Graham asked whether it was not the fact that in spite of the prohibition natives were now being taken from New Guinea.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—I am not aware of it.

Mr. S. Smith asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he was aware that the Assembly of Victoria passed yesterday, without a dissenting voice, a resolution condemning the action of the Queensland Parliament in passing an Act sanctioning the importation of Kanaka labourers into Queensland, and urging the Government to resort to all the measures in their power for rendering the resolution effective; and whether, after this strong expression of opinion, Her Majesty's Government would reconsider their intention not to disallow the Act.

Baron H. DE WORMS.—The attention of Her Majesty's Government has not been officially drawn to the notice referred to, or to the resolution which, it would appear from a telegram in *The Times* of this morning, has been carried; but the Hon. Member will see that the question raised by that resolution is one which, however important, must be settled by those great colonies among themselves, without the intervention of Her Majesty's Government. It may also be observed that this resolution is not framed against native employment on humanitarian grounds, but is against all foreign labour, coolie or native.

In answer to a further question by Mr. S. SMITH,

Baron H. DE WORMS said that the Colonies could make any arrangement they thought proper on the subject among themselves; but the Hon. Gentleman would see that the resolution passed by the Victoria Assembly could not influence Her Majesty's Government in the direction of advising Her Majesty not to assent to a Bill passed by the Queensland Parliament.

THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRAFFIC.

May 27th.

THE House went into Committee of Supply, and the general debate on the vote of £4,632,350 on account of the Civil Service and Revenue Departments was resumed.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM said that up to 1885 it was admitted by everyone that the Kanaka labour traffic was simply a bad form of Slavery, and that nothing more abominable attached to the British flag than the unspeakable horrors disclosed by the Royal Commission. Not a word had been urged in defence of the traffic up to 1885, and even Mr. W. KINNAIRD ROSE had not a word to say in support of it. One of the arguments, however, was that we were dealing with an independent Colonial Parliament. But if the English people had no moral right, obligation, and duty to interfere now, were they justified in interfering in 1885? What circumstances would justify this country in interfering with the free action of an independent colony? Would negro Slavery justify it? The relation of this country with the freelygoverned colonies was simply one of bargain—that they should remain under the Union Jack by accepting English public opinion on one or two great matters; and surely the question of Slavery was one of them. This traffic was either a form of Slavery, cruel, un-Christian, and oppressive, upon a dependent race, a system to which no Englishmen could be a party; or else the objectors to it were wrong, and their objection was nothing but a sentimental philanthropic bubble. It had been asked, however, what had been the character of the traffic between 1885 and the present time. Mr. KINNAIRD Rose might even be taken for a witness as to the misconduct or badness of the traffic since the Royal Commission sat. Hon. Members could not go

to Blue Books and produce unanswerable testimony in support of their case, and he admitted that there was conflicting evidence. But they had on their side all the missionaries on the islands. He defied the Under-Secretary to quote a missionary living on the islands who was in favour of the traffic. On July 26th, 1889, a resolution was unanimously passed regarding this traffic by thirteen missionaries in synod assembled, and well acquainted with the character of the traffic which they condemned. They said in that resolution that the traffic had been and was the cause of much sorrow, suffering, and bloodshed on the islands, and they urged the English Government on no consideration to allow the traffic to continue, because it was so steeped in deception, immorality, bloodshed, and suffering. To his mind, testimony like that was conclusive. The Under-Secretary had quoted a line here and there from Bishop SELWYN's letter in support of his view, but there were paragraphs in that letter which condemned the traffic as it was carried on now, pointing out, among other things, that the recruiting of women was the great vice of the trade. Again, the letter of Admiral Sir C. Scorr was absolutely conclusive to his mind as to the character and results of the traffic. The Admiral, writing in March, 1892, on being asked as to the re-establishment of the traffic, expressed great regret that it was proposed to reintroduce this labour, that it was a very difficult matter to obtain proper supervision, and that it was most difficult to find the men for such a service. This letter ought to be circulated throughout the country, because a more straightforward document he had never read. The Admiral made a recommendation to the effect that depôts should be established on the islands for the recruits, allowing labour vessels to get their recruits from those depôts. "I believe," he added, "that in the majority of cases the recruits are passive agents, the active agents being the chiefs of the tribes." The report on New Guinea, which was inhabited by the same class of people, and which was used to supply some of this very labour, showed how the Government dealt with this question under the administration of Sir WILLIAM MACGREGOR. The regulations in the colony provided that if native labourers were engaged for the fisheries for periods exceeding one month the engagement must be entered into before a resident magistrate or a Customs officer, and all such labourers must, on the completion of their engagement, be returned to their homes. (Hear, hear.) He would ask the Committee to contrast the state of things in New Guinea with the tale of depopulation, misery, and woe which came from the New Hebrides. Sir Samuel Griffith, in the manifesto which appeared in the Blue Book, and which explained the grounds of his change of policy and of his resumption of Polynesian immigration, said:-"It was answered that tropical agriculture could not be performed by white men, and that the employment of coloured labour was therefore inevitable. This statement I have always doubted, and careful enquiries made from time to time led me to reject it altogether." The whole basis of the Bill was that there was a languishing sugar industry, and that the only form of labour available was the Polynesian labour. Indian coolies were looked after too well to be employed. The Government's own return would, if carefully studied, satisfy any impartial person that the mortality among these poor islanders was excessive. Boys under 16 were taken from their homes, and when landed in Queensland were declared to be over 16, and admitted without any difficulty being raised. Then there was the argument about the risk of separation. If the regulations were not so framed as to meet with the approval of this country, the Government might stop the traffic by preventing a single shipload of these natives leaving the islands (Opposition cheers), by getting France and other countries to stop the same trade in those parts, and by sending our gunboats

there. (Hear, hear.) It was perfectly absurd for anybody to say that the Government, if they were in earnest, could not stop the trade in three weeks. What was the duty of the Government? He would admit that the Government were taken by surprise, and were unaware of the gravity of the case. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies had asked what the Government could do otherwise than they had done. LORD KNUTSFORD had, on May 9, sent the following telegram to Sir H. NORMAN: - "I trust that your Government will not object to short delay before issuing licenses under new Act until I can receive and consider the measure and the safeguards with which it is doubtless surrounded." To which Sir H. NORMAN had replied :- "Polynesian Labour Act has been sent by mail of April 22. Debates in Parliament have been sent by mail of April 29. Revised regulations go to-day. Every effort will be made to secure reliable agents. . . Regulations seem adequate." That was no answer to LORD KNUTSFORD's telegram. If the Under-Secretary would insist that no licenses should be issued until the regulations were considered, he would advise his Hon. Friend not to divide the House; otherwise he should support him on a division as a protest in the name of Christian England against the horrors of this labour traffic. (Cheers.)

Dr. CLARK said the Hon. Member for Flintshire had rather exaggerated a good case, but he should support his Hon. Friend if he went to a division. The Government had not acted in the matter as they ought to have done. (Hear, hear). He was not sure that the present Parliament of Queensland represented the people of Queensland on this question. Any action taken by the colony in Australia might affect all the other colonies, and therefore Her Majesty's Government ought to have considered the colonial feeling on the subject before the Queen's sanction was given to the Bill. The proper course was to telegraph to the Governor, not to consent to the Bill becoming an Act until the matter had been fully considered, and the opinions of the Legislatures of New South Wales and Victoria taken upon it. He knew the history of this traffic fairly well, and to say that the Queensland Government ever gave any man a license to kill a Kanaka, as his Hon. Friend had suggested, was utterly absurd.

Mr. S. Smith said he only stated the case as it was reported to him by an informant who had been many years in the colony. If, however, the statement had given offence, he would be very glad to withdraw it. (Hear, hear).

Dr. CLARK was very glad his Hon. Friend had withdrawn the statement, because he believed it was utterly untrue. The real iniquity of this business was to be found in the Act of 1877. Under that Act Kanakas came over for a period of service, and all their wages were kept back by the planter until the end of their period of service. If they died within their period of service, the planter put their wages in his pocket. By the Act of 1885, however, the planters were compelled to pay the wages into a fund, and now they had to send the wages to the relatives of Kanakas who died in their service. He did not think the Queensland planters were very bad. They treated these men fairly well, probably as well as they treated their cattle; but undoubtedly there was a very high rate of mortality amongst them, the actual reputed mortality being over sixty per thousand. The Government ought to have ascertained whether the Queensland Ministry and Parliament represented the people of Queensland in this matter. He believed that if the question came before the Queensland people, the probability was that the GRIFFITHS Ministry would be defeated upon it. He supported the amendment of his Hon. Friend because the Government had aided and abetted the Queensland Ministry in the course they had taken, without trying to ascertain whether they represented the views of the people.

Mr. Henniker Heaton said he had had 20 years' experience in this matter. Many years ago, no doubt, great outrages took place, but by the firm action of the Government of Queensland they had been put down. Hon. Members must understand that the climate over an enormous part of Queensland was extremely hot, and his experience was that it was not at all a country for the white man to till. Beyond even Rockhampton white men could not cultivate the soil, and black labour was absolutely necessary. In these circumstances, the sugar industry being found very profitable, it was clear that the time had arrived for introducing black labour, and the result was its reintroduction by Sir Samuel Griffith.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM pointed out that from the Blue Book, circulated yesterday, it appeared that Sir Samuel Griffith said that, after the careful consideration of years, he had come to the conclusion that all the more intelligent planters agreed that white labour was possible.

Mr. Henniker Heaton said that, in the face of his experience, that seemed to him an extraordinary statement, and he still maintained that in the hottest part of Queensland it was impossible for white men to work the soil. In his opinion the restrictions were more than ample, and, the Committee might rely on it, these black men were well looked after. In fact, he called the regulations too severe, and any interference on the part of this country would rouse a feeling of indignation all over Australia of which Hon. Members had little conception. The idea of sending British ships to prevent these islanders from leaving their islands would be received with derision in the southern waters. No outrage could happen without stirring the popular feeling, but he pledged his word that no outrage would occur.

Mr. G. O. Morgan said the question they were discussing was a very delicate one, and they could not ignore the fact that the Queensland Government were particularly jealous of any interference. (Hear, hear.) He was sure his Hon. Friend the Member for Flintshire would agree that it would be a most dangerous thing to interfere with the government of a country to which they had given self-government—to try to take away with one hand what they had given with the other. This traffic was carried on under the British flag, and of that they were the guardians. He agreed that this was an exceptional case, and that it was of the greatest importance that they should look thoroughly into the question. He would rather see the sugar trade perish than that the British flag should protect Slavery, but he warned the House to be quite clear that the trade was one which the Imperial Parliament, in the interest of the honour of England and the flag, was bound to stop. He should himself vote with the Government on the question ("Oh," and "Hear, hear") but he hoped the matter would not be pressed to a division.

Mr. C. Graham said it was a foregone conclusion that any one who had been in office would support the Government. That took the gilt off the gingerbread of the Right Hon. Member's speech. The whole desire to open this traffic was simply the desire expressed by a gang of sugar planters, who found that white men absolutely refused to be made Slaves, to sweat in the tropical swamps. He refrained from entering upon the question whether it would not be more profitable that all these great sugar estates, most of which he believed were practically monopolies, should be broken up, and the land thrown open to smaller farmers; but he was perfectly certain, from his own experience in America, that sugar, and even cotton, could be cultivated by white men if they only conformed more or less to the conditions necessary to life in the tropics, and did not stuff themselves, as the Hon. Member for Flintshire said, with too much meat and whisky. It was, however, impossible for the white

cultivators to exist among the people from the Pacific Islands, because their whole standard of comfort was lower than that of white men, and their means of subsistence enabled them to work on land which it was impossible for white men to cultivate at the same price and under the same conditions. It ought to be made clear to the labour party in Australia that there were some in the House of Commons who took their view of this case. He urged the Government to accede to the temperate requests that had been made, and, if they could not see their way to disallow the reopening of the traffic, to do something towards establishing a protectorate over the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides, whence the greater portion of these men were drawn. It was a scandal that longshoremen, who had been kicked out of civilisation, who kept harems of black women and got drunk every Saturday night, should be the men to introduce so-called civilisation among these native races. If we could not act alone, perhaps other civilised Powers, say France and Germany, would join us in the regulation of this traffic. With such supervision the resistance of the working classes of Australia would more than counterbalance the outcry from Queensland plantations or absentee proprietors who, sitting in London clubs, lamented that Australia was going to the dogs because money did not produce more than 30 per cent, interest. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. A. Bright said, in spite of all that had been stated for this labour trade. it must be the general opinion that it was not only a very dangerous trade, but that it was probably, in most of its stages, a very bad trade, and they would very likely all agree, if they could see their way, to prohibit the trade entirely. Any one could see that a recruiting trade which had to be carried on with armed boats was not one much favoured by the inhabitants of the islands whence these unfortunate people were drawn. They had to be armed because the men who were conducting the traffic would otherwise be attacked by the people on shore. A few days ago he received a letter from a friend who was some years ago engaged in planting in North Queensland, and that friend wrote to him to do all he could to prevent this atrocious traffic. The writer said that, at the time he lived there, being in a subordinate position, he was obliged to wink at many bad abuses which he could not prevent. He added that the position of the men was most pitiful, and still more so that of the women, and begged him to do all he could to influence the Government against allowing this measure. They had heard that they probably had not the power to prevent the traffic, and that to disallow the Bill would be a strong measure. That was probably the fact, but they might do something short of this: they might send a remonstrance, or, at any rate, a strong warning, to the Queensland Government, representing that the public opinion of this country was in a watchful state, and that people here would observe whether abuses, which undoubtedly occurred not long ago, were allowed to be renewed. The last speaker had said something about a protectorate, and perhaps the Government could say something about that. Although we might not be able to interfere with things done in Queensland itself, it ought to be open to us to do something in the district from which these unfortunate people were drawn. If there were any difficulty with foreign Powers who claimed an interest in the question, we might make some approach to them and ask them to assist us, in the name of humanity, in making some arrangements by which people who were taken from these islands should be in some way protected. (Hear, hear).

EARL COMPTON said they were asked not to go to a division, and he and some of his friends were not at all anxious to do so if it could be avoided. They thoroughly understood the difficulty of not allowing the Bill; they did not overlook that at all;

but they felt they must insist on the absolute necessity of a protest being made from the House of Commons against any possibility whatever of the former traffic being reintroduced into Queensland. It appeared to him that the Under-Secretary, in the speech he had made, rather threw cold water on the efforts of those who were anxious that something should be done to maintain the honour of England. The point was whether the Government would continue the policy which was adopted by LORD KNUTSFORD in his telegram of May 9. There was no question there of disallowing the Act; there was only a courteous request to the Queensland Government to delay the issue of licenses until the Home Government had been able to see what the safeguards were. Without doing that, it would, of course, be an extreme measure to disallow an Act of the Queensland Government. The House of Commons ought to do all it could, so that it should not be said that it had, without protest, allowed a colony to reintroduce the Slave-trade. As LORD KNUTSFORD said in his telegram, they were still under considerable apprehension, and that apprehension had not been removed by the discussion, and certainly not by the answer to the telegram, in which it was said that the matter of importance was the supply of labour as soon as possible. That was not the matter of importance. (Hear, hear). The matter of importance was whether the labour could be supplied under proper conditions (hear, hear); and they had no proof whatever that it could be so supplied. (Hear, hear.) They had proof that the conditions formerly laid down had failed, and they wanted to know something more about the new conditions. If only the Government would say that they would continue their policy and press upon the Queensland Government that the House of Commons viewed with considerable apprehension the passing of the new Act, and anxiously awaited the new restrictions to see whether they were satisfactory, a division might be avoided; but some assurances from the Government were anxiously looked for. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Balfour said that he rose because he had been personally appealed to, but he did not propose to go over the ground traversed by previous speakers. He would point out to the noble lord what were the relative positions of the Home and the Colonial Governments. The Home Government had power to disallow the Act, but it had not power to suspend the regulations under the Act whilst it considered whether the regulations were adequate or inadequate. It might, perhaps, have been inferred from LORD KNUTSFORD's telegram that the regulations could be suspended until they could be sent to England for discussion; but that was not the case; and the regulations were now in full force. The noble lord was rightly anxious that the Queensland Government should be made aware how strong was the desire in this country that there should be no abuse of this traffic, with regard to which all admitted that abuse was possible, and had actually occurred, and must recur, unless it were carried on under proper regulations. Anyone who read the debate, or who had listened to it, must be convinced by the speeches of all who had taken part in it that there was a deep and keen feeling on the subject in the Imperial Parliament and in this country, and that the manifestation of that feeling would depend upon the practicability of the means and measures to be adopted for dealing with the possible evils of the traffic. (Hear, hear). They were all absolutely convinced of the evils that had attended this traffic in the past and that might attend it in the future, and they felt that it was the business of the Colonial Government not to allow them to be repeated. (Hear, hear). He was fully convinced that what had occurred in the House would operate in the direction desired by the noble lord; and he did not think that anything further that could be said on the subject would strengthen the effect of what had occurred yesterday and to-day. (Hear, hear).

Mr. S. Smith quite appreciated the delicacy of the question and the necessity of the Government not doing anything which might bring us into collision with the self-governing colonies. He had hoped, however, that the Government would have been able to give a little more encouragement to those who brought forward this question, and that they would have promised that a despatch would be sent to Queensland setting forth the strong feeling that existed in this country upon this subject based upon past experience. Be that as it might, he believed nothing but good would result from the discussion, and if in the heat of debate he had given utterance to any language which might seem offensive to the people of Queensland he regretted it. To some extent he was speaking of the past, and he would express the hope, as regarded the future, that the Government and people of Queensland would not do anything which would cause the blush of shame to the old mother country. (Hear, hear). He would not offer further opposition to the vote.

Mr. CREMER, as a matter of order, asked whether it was competent to an Hon. Member to withdraw an amendment to reduce the vote without the consent of the House.

The CHAIRMAN said the amendment was not withdrawn, because it was never moved. It was moved yesterday, but, according to the usual practice, it then lapsed.

Mr. Graham thereupon moved to reduce the vote by £500, in order, as he said, to give Hon. Members an opportunity of recording their dislike of the traffic in question.

Mr. PRITCHARD MORGAN, as one who had practical acquaintance with Queensland, traced the growth of feeling in the colony on the subject of Kanaka labour, pointing out that, whereas in 1882 public opinion was strongly opposed to such labour, now opinion had gone round the other way and had pronounced in favour of it. If the sugar industry in the colony was to be encouraged at all it would have to be carried on by Kanaka labour. No doubt these Kanakas, when they first came to the colony, did pine for their homes and their wives; but since they had been educated and instructed by those who returned home, this was no longer the case. He knew many instances of Kanakas going back to their homes after three years' service, in accordance with the regulations, the moment they landed on the shore walking back to the steamer again and returning to their work. They talked of these people getting only £6 a year, but there were rations in addition, and there were plenty of poor creatures in this country who would be glad to get £6 a year if they were fed properly. Sir S. Griffith, who was an exceedingly kind-hearted and generous man, would take every possible care, and so would his colleagues, to see that no abuses such as had happened in the past would take place in the future.

Mr. Cremer listened with the utmost regret to the speech of his Hon. Friend who had just sat down. He had heard exactly the same kind of speech, supported by the very same arguments, thirty years ago in defence of Slavery in the United States of America. These Kanakas were imported into Queensland under abominable conditions of servitude, with the one object of keeping down the wages of the white population. (Mr. Pritchard Morgan—"Absurd.")

Mr. E. HOLDEN supported the reduction, because he thought it quite impossible to carry on this traffic in an unobjectionable manner.

The Committee divided, and the numbers were-

For the r	eductio	n of the	vote	 	I STATE OF	49
Against	•••	65200 3	•••	 •••	***	197
M	ajority		***	 •••		148

UGANDA.

16th June, 1892.

Sir W. BARTTELOT asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention had been called to a statement in *The Times*, of the 13th inst., with regard to Uganda, that the British East Africa Company had issued the order to abandon it; whether it was the intention of the Government to allow the Company to abandon a sphere which had been allotted to Great Britain; and whether any attempt was to be made to sustain Captain Lugard and his men in the position which they had occupied up to the present time?

Col. Nolan asked whether care would be taken that any addition to the force under Captain Lugard would not be used either directly or indirectly for the purpose of confiscating the property of Catholics or of taking their lives.

Mr. Balfour—The Hon. and Gallant Gentleman (Col. Nolan) appears to assume that Captain Lugard has been employed in the destruction of Catholics; and, secondly, that Her Majesty's Government approved of that course. He is entirely in error in both those assumptions. In regard to the other question, I believe the Company have instructed their agents to retire from Uganda at the end of the year. The Government, as I understand the matter, has no power to compel them to stay; but it must be borne in mind that the withdrawal of the Company's officers by no means implies the abandonment of the country. As to whether any attempt is to be made to sustain Captain Lugard in the position that he and his men occupied, I cannot make any statement until we obtain definite information as to Captain Lugard's actual position and prospects; but I may state that in our opinion the proper way to maintain our position in Uganda is to construct a railway to the eastern shore of Lake Nyanza, which seems to present no engineering difficulties so far as the surveys have proceeded.

Sir W. BARTTELOT—As I understand, it is the intention of the Government that we are to maintain the sphere of influence in Uganda.

Mr. Balfour-I apprehend there is no intention to alter the sphere of British influence.

The Disturbances in Uganda.

The Imperial British East Africa Company have informed Reuter's Agency that they are in receipt of telegraphic despatches from their agents at Mombasa giving particulars of letters which have arrived at the coast through German territory from Captain Lugard and Captain Williams, dated February 11th and March 7th, respectively. These letters contain details of the recent disturbances which have occurred in Uganda, and throw a completely different light upon their origin, which entirely refutes the distorted accounts furnished by Bishop Hirth and other Catholic Missionaries that have already found their way to Europe and been published throughout the Press. The Company understands that these letters will confirm the intelligence previously received to the effect that the disputes originated in the murder of a Protestant chief by the Roman Catholics, who subsequently made a direct attack upon Captain Lugard's fort, at Kampala. According to the telegraphic advices which the Company have received from their Mombasa agents, the letters will clearly prove that King Mwanga and the Roman Catholic Party were the aggressors in these feuds.

The Abandonment of Uganda.

ANOTHER important article, upon the duty of England towards the people of Uganda, appeared in *The Times*, of 22nd June, and the later telegraphic news received by the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY goes far to confirm the policy so strongly urged by the leading journal as to the necessity of establishing British rule in the vast province where Captain Lugard has done so much important work. We give the article in full (by permission).

The article which we published on the 13th inst., under the title of "The Abandonment of Uganda," has given rise to much discussion both inside and outside of Parliament, and also to some misconception as to our position with regard to the British East Africa Company. Our single contention is that we are bound to retain our hold over all the territory which is included in our sphere by the Anglo-German Agree ment of 1890. We said, with sufficient plainness, that if on inquiry the Government found that the Company had not complied with the terms of its charter, then it would be the duty of the Government to deprive it of its privileged position. If by the terms of the charter the Company is bound to extend its operations into the interior, to hold, at its own cost, Uganda and all the territory beyond to the limits indicated in the Anglo-German Agreement, and if it now confesses that it is unequal to the task, it is evident that its position demands serious reconsideration. We cannot, however, discover, on a careful perusal of the charter, that the Company is bound to extend its responsibilities to the utmost limits of the British sphere in East Africa. It may be said that it had no right to take possession of Uganda if it were not prepared to hold the country. But it has some excuse in the fact that it was urged to enter that country by Her Majesty's Government, in order to prevent Dr. PETERS from acquiring it on behalf of Germany. It is a pity the Company did not count the cost beforehand, and decline the task if its funds were not equal to it. When we stated that the Company declared its funds to be exhausted, we meant all the funds which it believes itself justified in expending on operations that have no direct connection with the business of the Company as a trading concern. The published accounts show that the Company has still some £200,000 at its disposal, and if Her Majesty's advisers are of opinion that the Company is bound to expend that sum in maintaining its position in Uganda, then by all means let them enforce their judgment. We are not concerned for the interests of this Company, nor for those of any other private or quasi-private undertaking. Our contention is that it would be deplorable if England were to abandon one of the most promising regions of Africa, which she acquired after much troublesome negotiation, and which she is bound to occupy, unless she is willing to see it lapse into other hands. It would not only be dishonourable, but it would be cruel to the native population, to withdraw after we have gone so far. In West Africa we have a Royal Commissioner administering the Oil Rivers, with a chartered company having jurisdiction over the neighbouring Niger, and the extensive territories adjoining it. In South Africa we have the chartered company occupying and administering Southern Zambesia, while, on the other side of the Zambesi, an equally extensive area has been placed under a Royal Commissioner. If the East Africa Company cannot undertake to be responsible for more than the coast region, and a limited area extending towards the interior, let its immediate sphere be reduced to these limits, and let a Commissioner be appointed to maintain British jurisdiction in the interior. If it be considered better in the interests of the Empire that the whole of British East Africa should be placed under direct Imperial control, and that the Company should be reduced to the status of a mere trading concern, then by all means let this be done. In any case, whatever may be the extent of Imperial administration, it would only be fair to tax the Company, as well as the natives, in proportion to the benefits derived from such administration; and to this the Company could scarcely object. Our only contention is that things cannot be allowed to remain in their present position; to take temporary contributions from missionary or other bodies is only trifling with the situation; much more radical treatment is necessary, treatment which, while respecting private rights, will deal with the entire-region as a portion of the Empire that cannot be monopolised. At the same time, it is only fair to remember that the individuals who founded the chartered Company must have been animated with some degree, at least, of patriotism; from the commercial point of view they can hardly have expected any substantial results during their own lifetime.

The Company is not, however, confining its efforts to Uganda. Captain Nelson, who has been for some time in its service, has been doing good work in the Taita country, to the east of Kilima Njaro, in clearing away obstructions placed in the way of caravans by the natives. New courts of justice have been established at Mombasa. Mr. Berkeley, the Administrator of British East Africa, has succeeded in inducing the troublesome Sultan of With to settle down quietly, and permit the peaceful development of his country. He has also been as far north as the River Juba, to make such arrangements with the chiefs as will permit the utilization of that important waterway into the interior of Somaliland. The Company is evidently doing its best to establish British influence over all the coast regions at least, and to open up the natural routes to the interior; it is difficult to see that more could be done for the commercial development of these districts, even if they were under direct Imperial administration.

Myassaland.

(From "THE TIMES," by permission.)

THERE is a curious analogy between the present state of things in Uganda and that in the sphere under the administration of Mr. H. H. JOHNSTON. In the former country we see the Jesuit missionaries, true to the traditions of their order, doing their utmost to overturn the civil power and establish an intolerant domination. In Nyassaland, until the arrival of Her Majesty's Commissioner, the Scotch missionaries, at least in the Blantyre Highlands, had it all their own way. Now that a Civil Government has been introduced, and the Commissioner, in accordance with his instructions, endeavours to establish an administration, the missionaries do not always show themselves so loyal to the ordained authority as their patriotism and their Instead of wisely and heartily adapting religion should constrain them to be. themselves to the new conditions, which are inevitable, some of them at least treat Her Majesty's representative as an intruder, and try to belittle his authority. Serious accusations against the conduct of the white men in the Nyassa region have been sent home and even urged on Her Majesty's Government. We are informed, on authority we are bound to respect, that these accusations are greatly exaggerated, and that the white men in Nyassaland are no worse than Englishmen in other tropical portions of the Empire. If the missionaries are dissatisfied with the conduct of their countrymen they have their own peculiar methods of seeking to reform it; they are not entitled

to go further, and it is not in the province of Her Majesty's Commissioner to interfere, unless such conduct reaches the stage of a public scandal. It is evident from the very interesting despatches published within the last few days that Mr. Johnston has gone the right way to work to carry out his commission, that he has been placed in most trying circumstances, and that he ought to be supported with a far stronger force than he has at his command. The authority we have referred to, who has been one of the best known residents in Nyassaland for the last 15 years, maintains that it will take 1,000 men and five years before we can expect Mr. Johnston to succeed in firmly establishing British jurisdiction around Lake Nyassa. At the same time, all that has been said with regard to the growing prosperity of Nyassaland is fully confirmed. Coffee plantations are spreading all over the Blantyre region, and the export is on the increase. The suitability of the country for tea is doubtful, but there is a splendid field for tobacco, cotton, rice, maize, and numerous other products. The great drawback here, as in other parts of tropical Africa, is the want of cheap and rapid communication. The Shire is interrupted by rapids and its waters are often inconveniently low. A railway, or even a steam tramway, from the lake to the River Ruo, with steamers down to the mouth of the Zambesi, would vastly increase the industrial value of the country, while a proper road, suitable for vehicles, between Nyassa and Tanganyika, would enable traders to place their goods at such a rate in Central Africa and to give such a price for ivory and other native products, as would completely do away with the Slave carriers. The duty of the Government at present is to do everything it can to strengthen Mr. Johnston's hands.

Obituary.

MISS EMILY STURGE (aged 45), daughter of WILLIAM STURGE, the eminent land surveyor, of Bristol. Although Miss STURGE was principally known by her long and constant activity in the cause of education, she took a warm interest in the work of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with which she was well acquainted, as her late mother, Charlotte Sturge, was Treasurer of the Bristol Branch of that Society, and her uncle is Secretary of the parent Society in London.

The manner of her death was of the most startling and unexpected kind, she being thrown from her horse and killed on the 3rd of June, whilst riding in the vicinity of Bristol, in company with her sister and cousin.

Miss Sturge was a well-known public character in the city of her birth, having been for twelve years an active member of the School Board—on which for some considerable time she sat as the only lady member—and her place will not easily be filled. The sudden and violent end of her earthly career of usefulness caused a universal feeling of mourning and regret throughout the City, where her zeal and activity in various other good works had rendered her beloved and respected, and it is rarely that the small Friends' burying ground, in the heart of the town, has been the scene of so large and almost public a funeral. The after service, held in the Quaker Meeting House, was crowded by representatives from all the various bodies of her fellow Christians, and by numbers of the poor children for whose welfare she has so long and faithfully laboured.

Anti-Slavery Lectures.

On Wednesday evening, May 25th, Mr. Banks delivered a lecture in the School-room of the Congregational Chapel, Clarendon Road, Watford. The Pastor, the Rev. J. Scott James presided, and after singing and prayer, and a few kind introductory and sympathetic words, called on the lecturer to address the meeting. Mr. F. C. BANKS based his remarks upon Hebrews xiii. 3: "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them, and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body." He said that no more appropriate words could be found in the Scriptures as introductory to his subject; and when he had spoken of the horrors of the Slave-trade, he hoped that his hearers would bear in mind that Divine command. The early portion of the lecture was necessarily similar in details to others given by Mr. BANKS, who then proceeded to show, by the most recent facts ascertained by the ANTI-SLAVERY Society, that "the open sore of the world" was as terrible, doubtless more so, than in Dr. Livingstone's time. In that excellent book, "Tropical Africa," Professor DRUMMOND refers to the cruel Slave-raids as "the heart disease of Africa"; and Mr. H. M. STANLEY, in 1888, spoke of the Slave-trade as "that great blight which clings to Africa like an aggravated pest, destroying men faster than children can be born." After describing the general character of the Slave-raids and the terrible march to the coast or to the Slave-markets, the lecturer read, from the columns of the last issue of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, the shocking account of the Slave-trade contiguous to Lake Tanganyika, and the barbarities practised at Katanga. In reply to the common question, What is being done to hasten the end of these atrocities? the lecturer dwelt at some length on the constant exertions, for years past and at the present time, of the Anti-Slavery Society. He then referred to the Brussels Act, and the part taken by the Society in securing that beneficent measure. The Anti-Slavery Society, from its experiences, feels that the European and other Powers are not to be entirely trusted in carrying out the Act, as disagreement between them is likely to take place at any time; and, moreover, inter-tribal wars, close to frontiers of European possessions in Africa, may any time lead to international complications, the limits or outcome of which no man could foresee. The only way in which the Powers could be induced to carry out their engagements properly and quickly was by the pressure of public opinion in all Christian countries, and that public opinion can only be aroused and kept alive by the unflagging exertions of such societies as that he had the honour to represent. Take, as an example of the need of vigilance, the refusal of the Governments of Holland, America, France, and Portugal, to sign the Brussels Act, for various reasons. So long as these Powers hung back, the Brussels Act was but waste paper; and every peaceful and legitimate method had to be resorted to by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in Europe to bring the objecting Powers into harmony with those whose Governments had endorsed the Act, and were waiting to do their share in carrying it out. Red-tape is, no doubt, an essential requisite in State departments, but it had a tendency to hamper the good intentions of Governments, and to strangle the best of schemes, unless public opinion stood ready to prevent entanglements. Not only, therefore, had the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to continue to cry aloud against the Slave-trade, and to stop the demand for Slaves that the supply might cease, and domestic Slavery die a natural death; but it had the extra duty of watching over the due enforcement of the Brussels Act. Some people suggested war against the Slave-raiding Arabs and their followers by a combination of armed European forces; but the most convincing arguments against any such folly came

from the pen of LORD WOLSELEY himself, in the pages of the United Service Magazine, October, 1890. Nor could the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY say one word in favour of wars, big or little, even if likely to be successful. Peaceful measures might be slow, but they often achieved lasting successes, and left behind no feelings of bitterness and anger, and no desires for revenge. In Egypt was to be seen an example of what might be done without gunpowder. Not only was the Slave-trade illegal in that country, but domestic Slaves could easily obtain their freedom if they desired it. This encouraging result was due to the cordial co-operation of the Egyptian and British authorities in efforts to uproot the evils of Slavery altogether. The lecturer specially asked the attention of ladies to the great good accomplished in the Home for Freed Slave Women in Cairo, in which noble institution the ANTI-SLAVERY Society had a deep interest, and desired to see its benefits extended. The force of good example in well doing is once more shewn by the fact that the SULTAN OF TURKEY—the greatest offender in Europe as regards the Slave-trade—was now not only pledged to aid European Christian Powers in suppressing Slavery, but had also decided to erect in his dominions several homes for Slaves-women, girls and boysin which the inmates would be trained to earn their livelihood by free labour. Surely these and other events were most encouraging, and if time permitted very much more could be said as to the recent successes of the Society and the onerous responsibilities before it. The Society required most urgently not only the moral support of the country, but pecuniary aid. Many of the old Quakers who had done so much for them had died out. They would rather receive fi each from 1,000 persons than a donation of £1,000 from one person, because many givers of £1 would frequently renew their help, and would practically be so many advocates of the noble cause. The lecturer exhibited two Slave-yokes, such as are used at the present day, placing them on the shoulders of two lads; and concluded his address by an earnest appeal to his hearers to co-operate with the Society so far as they were able.

Mr. Banks has delivered twenty-two lectures on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society since the 7th of March, and not only have chapels and school-rooms been placed at his disposal free of charge, but in several cases the ministers and deacons have spontaneously and gratuitously advertised his coming in the local newspapers, in programmes of Church work, and by a generous supply and distribution of hand-bills, &c.

The Society desires to return its thanks to the ministers and others who have taken part in assisting the Society's representative by placing their

chapels at his disposal for advocating the claims of the Society.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURE AT CAMBERWELL.

A LECTURE on the above subject was given in the Congregational Chapel School Room, Arthur Street, Camberwell Gate, on Thursday evening, by Mr. Frederick C. Banks, on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The Rev. S. C. Gordon, M.A., B.D., pastor of the church, presided.

ERRATA IN LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

"Anonymous"	***	***	•••	•••	•••	•••	60 10	0
Atkins, Mrs. H. I	F	•••			•••	•••	0 10	0

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

	C
the	ed i
lor	n li
Society,	li pa
and Expenditure of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the	
Foreign	
and	
British	. 1891.
the	Year
Jo	1
Expenditure	
pue	
Income	
the	
Jo	
Account	
	Dr.

Ģ.		-		1		0	60	0	0		21	1		1	9
vi		934 ro		183 3		14	1	3	0			274 16 7	e l	2	91
S s. d. 6 s. d.	11	934		183		305 14	==	55	240		1	274	Y		62,004 16 6
Þ				1						-	9	1		1	3
vi										4	18 12 6	1			in in
S										256	18	1		1	10
	onse	:	Ex-	&c.	lets,	:	:	:	:	:	:				: *) (; (i))
	ter, H	:	ntary	tages,	Pampl	me	:	:	:	:	:				- (-
	s, Wa	:	rliame	s, Pos	als,]	s of sa	nses	:	pense		:				12 30
	By Salaries, Rent, Rates, Taxes, Gas, Water, House	Expenses and Repairs	Stationery, Office Expenses, Parliamentury Ex-	penses, Books, Advertisements, Postages, &c.	Anti-Slavery Reporter, Memorials, Pamphlets,	Paper, Printing, and Postages of same	". Conference and Deputation Expenses	:	Travelling Agent, Salary and Expenses	:	:				4000
	Taxe	airs .	pense	vertis	r, M	nd Po	tation		ary a						
	ites,	Rep	Ex	Ad	orte	2, 20	epu	. :	Sal	:	:				
	, Ra	pur	ffice	oks,	Rep	ntin	Q P	:	ent,	, Balance at Bank	pu				
	Rent	ses	0	Bo,	2	Pri	e an	•	Ag	Ba	do. in Hand				
	1 ,55	pen	nery	1ses,	lave	per,	enc		ling	e at	.=				
	larie	Ex	tion	ben	ti-S	Pal	nfer	ants	avel	lanc	do.				
	Sa		Sta		W		ပိ	" Grants	T	Bal					
	B	M	"				-				=	10			(11)
þ.			10	0	4	9	9	0	0	4				-	9
vi			335 19 10	00	44	11	20	oi 61	0	53 19 4					91
S			335	406	393	510	85	19	300	53					£2,004 16 6
b. 8 2. d. 8 s. d.	1	6	1											1	\$2,
ໜໍ	6	01 9													
S	329 9	9	1												
	:	:		:	:	:	:	:	:	:					
	:	:		:	:	:	:	•	:	:					
								UND							
	:	:		:	:	:	:	LF	:	:					
	:	:		:	:	:	:	ORIA	ts	:					
		:			•	•	•	EMC	enan	•					
	IV'S	:		:	:	:	:	Z	n T	:					
	CLA	P						SDO	froi				-		
	BAR	Han		us	:	sed		COL	ved	:					
	at	in		otio	Suc	eali	, &	on	ecei						
	o Balance at BARCLAY'S	do. in Hand		" Subscriptions	" Donations	" Stock Realised	" Interest, &c	" Interest on GORDON MEMORIAL FUND	" Rent Received from Tenants	" In Trust					
	O B			S	D	S	" I	, In	", R	- ·					

BANKERS-Messrs. BARCLAY, BEVAN & Co., 54, Lombard Street.

Cheques and P.O. Orders payable to Joseph Allen, Treasurer.

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

The Anti-Slavery Poet, Whittier.

We reprint from the *British Friend* of the current month an interesting account of an interview with the aged poet, who for more than half a century has been a Corresponding Member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and we gladly reproduce one of the latest, if not the last, of his poems.

I send a copy of the latest poem from the pen of our beloved poet, WHITTIER. I received it a day or two ago from a lady who had been to visit WHITTIER just before she wrote. She describes the poet as looking delicate, "but so serene and happy that we could not have any feeling of sadness about him. All the blinds were open and the curtains up, and the whole house open to the sunshine; but the spring air was fresh, and the family were gathered around a cheery wood fire in the large sittingroom; in his sitting-room was a coal fire, and from time to time through the day he would glide silently back and forth like a spirit to his study to rest, or sit down quietly amongst us, and join in whatever conversation might be going on." Not to intrude further on the sanctities of the home group, my friend adds that the poet was going, in a day or two, to Amesbury, where for many years he has been in the habit of attending the Quarterly Meeting, and entertaining his Friends. She adds: "No mention of the WHITTIER family circle would be at all complete without notice of the family pets, who are all well trained and affectionate, and occupy a very prominent position in the affection of the household as well as actually in the home. "Rob," the bob-tailed sheep dog, a little blue Skye-terrier, a splendid Maltese Angora cat, and "Rollo" the parrot, walk about as freely as any of the family, and follow them upstairs and down, and from room to room.

The house is large and handsome, beautifully kept, with great comfort, and a liberal and simple elegance, and the grounds are very lovely, full of natural beauty, with but little artificial arrangement; there is a great variety of noble and beautiful trees, and a lovely carpet of grass and mosses, enamelled with violets, houstonia, Solomon's seal, honeysuckle and lilies of the valley; a large magnolia and various flowering trees and shrubs were in full bloom. The house is a mile from the village. One cannot imagine a more bright, cheerful and comfortable home, or in all ways more congenial and happier surroundings than are those of our dear poet."

A glimpse at the home life of one so revered is very precious, and slight as this is it may interest some of thy readers.

H. M. W.

THE WIND OF MARCH.

Up from the sea the wild north wind is blowing
Under the sky's grey arch;
Smiling I watch the shaken elm boughs, knowing
It is the wind of March.

The stormy farewell of a passing season
Leaving, however rude
Or sad in painful recollection, reason
For reverent gratitude.

Welcome to weary hearts its harsh forewarning Of light and warmth to come, The longed for joy of Nature's Easter morning The earth arisen in bloom!

In the loud tumult winter's strength is breaking; I listen to the sound,

As to a voice of resurrection, waking To life, the dead, cold ground.

Between these gusts, to the soft lapse I hearken Of rivulets on their way;

I see these tossed and naked tree tops darken With the fresh leaves of May.

This roar of storm, this sky so grey and lowering Invites the airs of Spring.

A warmer sunshine over fields of flowering; The blue-bird's song and wing.

Closely behind, the Gulf's warm breezes follow This northern hurricane.

And, borne thereon, the bobolink and swallow Shall visit us again.

And in green wood-paths, in the kine-fed pasture, And by the whispering rills,

Shall flowers repeat the message of the Master, Taught on His Syrian hills.

Blow then, wild wind! thy roar shall end in singing, Thy chill in blossoming;

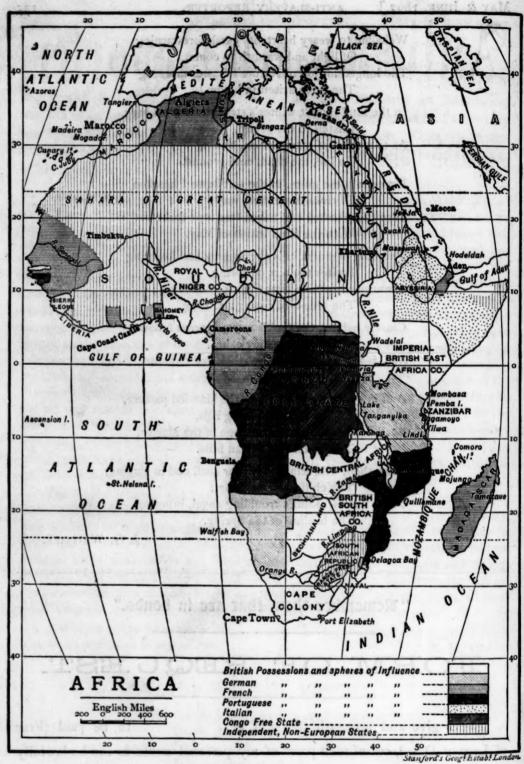
Come, like Bethesda's troubling angel, bringing The healing of the Spring.

J. G. WHITTIER.

"Remember them that are in bonds."

FORM OF BEQUEST.

"I give and bequeath the sum of to be paid (Free of Legacy Duty), out of such parts of my personal estate as can be lawfully applied for that purpose, unto the Treasurer for the time being of to be at the disposal of the Committee for the time being of the said Society."



MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.